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HOUSE OF CROMWELL.

A Genealogical History of the Family and Descendants of the Protector.

LEWISHAM

BY

JAMES WAYLEN,

Sometime Secretary of Thomas Carlyle.

HAMMERSMITH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

A NEW EDITION, REVISED

BY

JOHN GABRIEL CROMWELL, M.A. Oxon.,

Hon. Canon of Durham.

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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN order to render Mr. Waylen's book more complete and interesting to the general reader, the Publisher has decided to prefix a new chapter designed to trace as far back as possible the family from which the Great Protector derived his origin. He has also added a chapter at the end on the Cromwells in America. The book, which has been revised throughout and very much condensed, now presents the history of the family from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. It may seem proper, but almost unnecessary, for the editor to say that he does not agree with the sentiments of the late Mr. Waylen upon very many subjects.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE following pages are primarily designed to contain genealogical tables of the Protector Oliver's descendants to the present day, and thus to carry down through another century the family history which terminated in 1785 with the publication of Mark Noble's "History of the Protectoral House." Other miscellaneous matter is added, illustrative of the Protector's character, all which will speak for itself. But the mention of matter, supplementary to Mr. Carlyle's collection of the Protector's "Letters and Speeches," claims a few preliminary observations.

About the year 1842, Mr. John Langton Sanford, of the Temple, struck by the astounding discrepancies which had long been conspicuous among the biographers of Oliver Cromwell, resolved to make an independent investigation on his own account, and to commence the task by forming as complete a collection as possible of the hero's letters and speeches. Of these, he had brought together about three hundred, when Mr. Carlyle's work on the same subject came forth to light in 1845. As each collection

contained documents which were wanting in the other, Mr. Sanford promptly and generously surrendered his own contingent, which accordingly made part of Mr. Carlyle's second edition of 1846. To specify what that contingent supplied would now be a superfluous task; it may suffice to mention that it included the Clonmacnoise Manifesto—perhaps the most masterly and characteristic specimen on record of Cromwell's polemical discernment.

It is agreeable to add that the results of these studies on Mr. Sanford's own mind were already in felicitous accordance with the Carlylean decisions, and had issued, to use his own terms, in a clear conviction that the theory of Cromwell's hypocrisy and selfish ambition was devoid of all support in the real facts. He had learnt also that the lives of Pym, Hampden, and many others of that time, required re-writing quite as much as that of Cromwell; and he became increasingly solicitous that his accumulated stores "might be moulded into a work supplementary to that of Mr. Carlyle, and affording a critical refutation of the large mass of calumnious anecdote which still passes for history in works of such general value and authority as Mr. Forster's "Statesmen of the Commonwealth." Such a work, therefore, appeared in 1858—the original title of "Life of Oliver Cromwell" being supplanted by "Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion"—and a very fascinating book it is, fully answering the proposed design, without in the smallest degree disturbing the majestic supremacy of the Protector. It closes with a graphic account of the fight at Marston Moor, which had never before been rightly adjusted; and it supplies a few additional letters, which also may now be read in Carlyle's later editions.

But, indeed, that gallant crisis in the fortunes of England and of Europe may well sustain other supplementary illustration besides Mr. Sanford's classic essays. The position which the British Protector appeared to be as-

suming in the councils of foreign nations when death laid him low is apprehended by very few. Englishmen seem to have forgotten the motives which prompted him to snatch from Papal Spain the port of Dunkirk and adjacent part of Flanders. Nay, the majority of his compatriots seem to have forgotten that he ever held Dunkirk at all.

The loss of Calais was more than redeemed; and the Protestant ensign, under which Gustavus Adolphus fought and fell, floated over territory torn from Papal Spain. The whole affair was eminently calculated to re-awaken the enthusiasm which the leadership of the Protector had formerly kindled; for the Flanders campaign, though executed by deputy, was rightly felt to be animated by his spirit. His representatives, meanwhile, at the Gallic Court, where Huguenots had sued in vain, received homage which was withheld from the very Legate of Rome—a strange spectacle, startling to all Europe—alike anomalous, portentous, and inexplicable. To many a lip the question must then have risen, which in later years has again and again baffled the logic of Oliver's defamers: Wherein lay the divining power which could thus bring an aspiring Cardinal and a French autocrat under the fascination of a heretical island chieftain, whose political aspirations, all undisguised as they were, were backed by but a very moderate military power? The answer, surely, is found in the fact, that every step in his career was known to be the expression and outcome of habitual faith in the Unseen. To his Parliaments, and to those who came still more closely in contact with him, it was sufficiently manifest that his every thought was with the Eternal; but Milton gives us further to understand that the contagion of his spiritual force carried the better part of the nation along with him. Through Lockhart's medium the same sentiment would remotely influence Mazarin, offering a more honourable—and shall we not say rational?—explanation of his bearing towards the English Protector than the mere vulgar fear

which is all that the Cardinal's enemies can discover in him. The downright integrity and absence of self-seeking of Oliver was a new phenomenon in the history of monarchs, and at the bottom of their hearts the people hailed his advent as that of a practical saviour. In short, "There has not been a supreme governor worth the meal upon his periwig, in comparison, since this spirit fell obsolete," says Carlyle, in his comments on Speech V. There, gentlemen, is that strong enough? That it will for ever silence his detractors, can hardly be looked for. But it is in the firm belief, that the majority of his countrymen are rapidly reaching the same conviction, that the tribute of the following pages has been rendered.

Should it be objected against him, that his organization of parochial religious life was a mongrel affair, let it also be remembered that in the transition age through which the nation was passing it was a matter of exceptional perplexity. Robert Hall, in many respects a kindred spirit, when repelling on one occasion the notion that any particular form of Church-government was stereotyped for all ages, exclaimed, "That which is best administered is best." That Cromwell's administration of this and every other department was the very best conceivable is not the thing to be proved. That he deemed it the best under the actual circumstances of the hour, and made it the best by the simple force of his personal Christianity, is all that his admirers claim—sufficiently entitling him to the eulogy above expressed, ratified as it is by the testimony of a contemporary who, having, like many others, watched him long and closely, pronounced him "the justest of conquerors." (Carrington's "Life of Oliver Cromwell.")

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CHAPTER I.

THE HOUSE OF CROMWELL.

AS early as 1308 we find a nobleman bearing the name of Baron John de Cromwell,* who held the high and responsible office of Constable of the Tower of London. He was regularly summoned to Parliament till his death, which occurred in 1335. His seat in the country was Tattershall Castle, not far from Boston, in Lincolnshire. He was succeeded by Baron Ralph de Cromwell, who died in 1399; by another of the same name, who died in 1419; and then by a third of the same name, who died in 1455. This nobleman attained to the dignity of Lord High Treasurer of England, under Henry VI., the pious founder and princely benefactor of Eton. In the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, we find mention of a "Lorde Crumwell" (*sic*) as a resident† therein in the year 1572.

The investigations made by Mr. Carlyle for his edition of "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches" led him to conclude that there were other Cromwells in the Fen counties; and, in his own quaint phraseology, he says that "without any ghost to teach us we can understand

* *Vide* "Historic Peerage," by Sir Harris Nicholas.

† *Vide* "Westminster Tobacco-box," by Mr. J. E. Smith, 1887.

that the Cromwell kindred all got their name in very old times indeed" from the village of "Cromwell," which lies about five miles north of Newark.

Owing to the industry of an indefatigable antiquary of this generation, Mr. John Phillips, we have been enabled to trace a clear link of connection between one of the lords of Tattershall Castle and a resident near Newark named "John Cromwell." The way in which this discovery was made was as follows. Mr. Phillips was fortunate enough to obtain the permission of Earl Spencer, the Lord of the Manor of Wimbledon, to examine carefully the Court Rolls of the manor for the fifteenth century. Therein he discovered numerous entries of the name of "Cromwell." The first of that name mentioned in those old musty documents was one John Cromwell, who is therein stated to have come from Norwell, a village not far from the village of Cromwell. He was a fuller by trade, and he obtained the lease of a fulling-mill for twenty-one years, together with a residence and six acres of land belonging thereto, situate near the river Wandle, in the ancient Manor of Wimbledon. This lease was granted to John Cromwell in the year 1452, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was then the Lord of the Manor. Now, we happen to know that the custodian of the temporalities of the Archbishop at that time was a certain Sir Gervase Clifford, who also held the office of Secretary to the Lord Treasurer Cromwell of Tattershall Castle. It requires no great stretch of imagination to suppose that it was due to the tie of consanguinity that John Cromwell obtained his lease through the hands of his powerful kinsman's secretary.

It is easy to conjecture that John Cromwell desired to push his fortune by removing from a country village to the immediate neighbourhood of London, where he could pursue his business as a cloth-fuller to greater advantage and profit than he could down in Nottinghamshire. We

learn that John's father, William Cromwell, held a lease of Palme Hall, at Norwell, and that he was a grandson of William, fourth son of the sixth Ralph de Cromwell, of Lambley, Nottingham. It will not escape the reader's observation that RALPH was the favourite name of the above-mentioned Barons de Cromwell, who resided in Lincolnshire. We may conclude, with every appearance of certainty, that the Cromwells of Lincolnshire had originally sprung from the Cromwells of Nottinghamshire, and that some connection continued to be kept up between the two branches of the family at least down to the middle of the fifteenth century.

Let us see what more can be gleaned about John Cromwell, the cloth-fuller from Norwell. His fulling-mill appears to have stood near the river Wandle, in a lane formerly called Fulling-mill Lane, in the parish of Wandsworth. Here cloth, imported into London from Flanders by London merchants, was brought to be "fulled," and then dyed and finished ready for the cloth fairs held at Smithfield Market. For eight-and-twenty years John Cromwell pursued his business on the Wandle, and appears to have been diligent and successful in his business; for he acquired, in addition to the lease of his fulling-mill, with land and house adjoining, the copyhold of some land at Putney, which is called "Cromwell's" in the existing Court Rolls of the manor. At his death, which occurred about 1480, he was buried in Wimbledon churchyard, overlooking the Valley of the Wandle. Behind him he left two sons, John and Walter, and one or two daughters. Follow we first the history of John, the eldest son. He became a copyholder of land in the parish of Lambeth, and also of a brewery at Stockwell Green, where he carried on his business as a brewer till his death, in 1523, and was buried in Lambeth churchyard. In the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of Lambeth the following entries occur:

"1514. Rec^{d} of John Cromwell towards making our suits of vestments 6^{s} 8^{d}.

1515. Rec^{d} for the burial of John Cromwell's woman-servant 4^{d}.

1521. Rec^{d} from John Cromwell for reparation of the Church 20^{s} 0^{d}.

1523. Rec^{d} for burial of John Cromwell 8^{s} 6^{d}, and for ringing his knell 6^{d}."

In his will he directed that his body should be buried in the churchyard of "our Lady of Lambithe" (Lambeth now), that 4s. should be given to the "High Altar" for "tithes and oblations forgotten," that 3s. 4d. should be given to the "fraternity of S^{t} Christopher," and 6s. 4d. to the reparation of the church. It will be remembered, of course, that a shilling then was worth almost as much as a sovereign now. His two sons followed their father's occupation as brewers, and their names are found, together with that of their distinguished cousin Thomas, amongst the members of the household of Cardinal Wolsey, at Hampton Court, in the subsidy assessment for the year 1526.

* * * * * *

Having followed far enough the history of the eldest son of John Cromwell of Norwell, let us now fix our attention upon his second son, Walter, for it was through him that the most eminent members of the family derived their origin. To the Court Rolls of the Manor of Wimbledon we are again led by Mr. John Phillips for information. It thence appears that Walter succeeded his father (John) in the business at the fulling-mill on the Wandle; for when the lease, originally granted to John Cromwell of Norwell, expired, in 1473, it was renewed in favour of his son Walter, who added to the business of a fuller of cloth several other kinds of business. We learn that he held in the parish of Putney several copyhold lands and tene-

ments, and there he carried on business as a smith, an armourer, a brewer, and a "hostelry-keeper."

In thus combining under one management so many diverse kinds of business, Walter may be almost said to have anticipated some of the big London firms of the nineteenth century.

In his youth he was apprenticed to his maternal uncle, who was a smith and brewer at Putney, and when his apprenticeship expired, he joined his father in conducting the fulling-mill on the Wandle, but did not forget or abandon his original trade as a smith and armourer, and thus he was described in the local records sometimes as a smith, sometimes as a fuller, and sometimes as a brewer. Indeed, in the Court Rolls he is variously entered as "Walter Cromwell otherwise called Walter Smyth," and "Walter Smyth alias Cromwell," and "Walter Cromwell alias Smyth."

It is suggested that the reason why he was sometimes called "Smyth" was because his uncle's name, to whom he was apprenticed, was William Smith, armourer, smith, and brewer, at Putney.

In the parish of Putney, Walter Cromwell held thirty acres of land under the Lord of the Manor of Wimbledon, which had belonged to the successive Archbishops of Canterbury from the days of William the Conqueror. Some of this land is said to have been situated close to the Thames, between the west side of Brewhouse Lane and the east side of Putney Churchyard. His brewery and hostelry were in Brewhouse Lane, and the hostelry was conveniently near to the "hithe," or landing-place, where no doubt a good deal of business was done; for Putney was always a busy and important place, owing to its being on the direct line of transit between London and West Surrey, while ferry-boats constantly plied between Putney and Fulham, and boats and barges, some filled with rich merchandise and some with pleasure-seekers,

came up from London and Westminster. For more than a quarter of a century Walter Cromwell is known to have carried on his various kinds of business at Putney, and in 1500 we find that he received a considerable addition to his property in land. For in that year the Court Rolls tell us that "Walter Cromwell, otherwise called Walter Smyth, took of the Lord of the Manor six entire virgats" (*i.e.*, ninety acres) "of land, as well as divers arable lands in Roehampton." After describing fully and minutely the exact situation of all these lands in legal phraseology, the copy of Court Roll concludes by recording that Walter Cromwell was not required to pay anything for all this land, "because the Lord" (of the Manor) "for certain considerations . . . had pardoned payment therefor."

In these quaint words there is something very significant, and we ask with curiosity what could have been the "certain considerations" that moved Archbishop Morton of Canterbury to make a free grant of ninety acres of land, together with "divers arable lands in Roehampton," to Master Walter Cromwell, in the year of grace 1500. The answer to this question probably will be found in the following facts. The maternal grandfather of Walter Cromwell, like his maternal uncle, was by trade an armourer and smith, and in that capacity he had found employment during the Wars of the Roses amongst the Lancastrian Barons, whose cause he espoused, and whom he accompanied, like a brave man, to the field of battle; where his strong arms, both as a soldier and a smith, were doubtless very useful. In one of the numerous battles fought during the thirty years' Civil War he was killed, fighting on the Lancastrian side. For services thus rendered by the armourer of Putney, and by his sons, to the great party which eventually placed Henry VII. upon the throne of England, it is conjectured that the Archbishop of Canterbury was moved to grant freely those lands in Putney and Roehampton to "Walter Cromwell

alias Smyth," whose mother was both a daughter and a sister of a Lancastrian armourer. Other reasons likewise may have moved Archbishop Morton to take this course, for it is conjectured that some of those lands had been torn from the Putney armourers by a former Archbishop (Bourchier), who was a strong partisan of the Yorkist cause, and therefore the grant made to Walter Cromwell was probably an act of partial restitution. Be this as it may, we find Walter Cromwell, near the end of his life, in possession of a considerable amount of property at Putney, Wandsworth, and Roehampton, though later on he seems to have lost much of it, and to have died at his cottage on Wimbledon Green, about the year 1516, and was buried probably in Wimbledon churchyard, beside his father and mother. The reader is doubtless aware that it is next to impossible to give the exact date of the birth, marriage, or death of anybody in England prior to 1538, because before that year there was no regular and systematic registration of births, marriages, and deaths kept in this country. It was Thomas Cromwell who first ordered registers to be kept in all parish churches, and thus instituted that system of registration which continues in force with some alterations at the present day.

Before passing from the biography of Walter Cromwell, it may be mentioned that he twice discharged the office of "Constable of Putney," in 1495 and 1496, a parochial office that in all parishes used to be held in turn by the principal householders in a parish. Three children survived him—Katharine, born about 1477; Thomas, about 1485; and Elizabeth, about 1487. Our interest will be with Katharine and Thomas principally.

Place aux dames. The lady must come first, in spite of the fact that her brother afterwards became the most powerful subject of King Henry VIII.

It was in Putney Church, in the year of grace 1494, that Katharine Cromwell, then a young lady about

eighteen years of age, was married to a young man of Welsh extraction named Morgan Williams. From the issue of this marriage sprang in the fourth generation, as we shall presently see, the renowned Lord Protector of England, Oliver Cromwell.

Morgan Williams was the son of John Williams, who had migrated from the parish of Llanishen, near Cardiff, about the end of the fifteenth century, and took up his abode at Mortlake; where he married an English wife distantly connected with the Cromwell family at Putney, and pursued the avocations of accountant, land-agent, and lawyer. He seems to have been employed about the Court at Richmond in the time of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and his eldest son, John Williams, is designated in the record of a lawsuit in the King's Bench as "de Hospice de Regni," *i.e.*, "of the Royal Household." In 1515 he was appointed "Yeoman of the Crown" with 6d. a day, thus becoming one of that royal bodyguard, composed of stalwart Welshmen, on whose loyalty the two first Tudor Kings could rely; and we must never forget that Henry VII. was as much a Welshman as James I. was a Scotchman, and George I. was a German. Welshmen, therefore, were naturally held in favour about the Courts of Henry VII. and his son, bluff King Harry the Eighth.

In due time a son was born as issue of the marriage of Katharine Cromwell and Morgan Williams, and the child was called Richard. Of his early life little is recorded, but we may conjecture, with every probability in our favour, that he joined the royal bodyguard of Welshmen, to which one of his paternal uncles already belonged; and that it was thus he became so proficient in the use of arms, that at a grand tournament held by the King in 1539 he was* successful in defeating a Mr. Culpeper and two of the bravest foreign champions

* *Vide* Dugdale's "Baronetage," ii. 370.

who had been invited from the Continent to take part in the royal festivities. It is said that Henry VIII. was so highly delighted with Richard Cromwell's success in beating the two foreigners, that he knighted him on the spot, gave him a ring from his own finger, and said: "Henceforth thou shalt be my knight." Richard thenceforth, if not before, abandoned his father's surname, Williams, and assumed that of his mother's family, "Cromwell." He had a potent reason for making this change in his name, for by so doing he proclaimed to the courtiers his close kinship to the King's chief adviser and Minister, Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, who had not as yet fallen beneath the royal displeasure. In memory of the great tournament and of its fateful results, Sir Richard Cromwell and his descendants after him adopted as their crest a lion rampant holding up a ring in his right paw.

Leaving for a time the history of Sir Richard, we shall find much to interest us in recovering the story of the early life of his maternal uncle Thomas, the son, as we have seen, of Walter Cromwell of Putney, for it is full of adventure, and not a little romance.

Mr. John Phillips, to whom we are indebted for so many interesting particulars derived from the Court Rolls of Wimbledon Manor, says: "We are inclined to think that Thomas Cromwell, after leaving school, resided at Mortlake with John Williams; that he assisted him to collect rents and debts on the manor . . . and learnt from him to prepare legal documents for leases and mortgages. . . . At Putney he saw and conversed with the merchants who came there to buy wool, and heard much about Italy and other foreign countries." Hence, says Foxe: "A great delight came into his mind to see the world abroad, and to gain experience, whereby he learned such tongues and languages as might better serve his use hereafter."

In prosecution of his desire to see "forraine" countries, he passed over sea to the great commercial port of Antwerp, where, says Foxe, "he was retained of the English merchants" (who at that time resided together in a factory for mutual protection and convenience) "to be their clark or secretarie, or in some like condition pertaining to their affaires." When he was thus employed at Antwerp, there arrived two merchants from Boston on their way to Rome, commissioned by their townsmen to solicit from the Pope, Julius II., a renewal of "a pardon," as it was called, to the town of Boston, and to "the brethren and sisters of the gylde of our Lady in Saint Botulph's church at Boston."

A copy of this "pardon" may be seen in Foxe, and very curious are the indulgences and relaxations granted by the Pope to all such as should resort to the Church of St. Botulph at the great Church festivals—indeed, his Holiness promised that they should have "pardon no less than if they themselves personally had visited the stations of Rome." For such a document as this, of course, the Court of Rome would demand a good round sum of money from the merchants who had undertaken the commission to obtain it. Foxe tells us that these Boston merchants felt themselves unequal to the task of "compassing such a weightie piece of worke," and finding that Thomas Cromwell had acquired some skill in the Italian tongue, they induced him to accompany them to Rome, and assist them in their weighty business.

By making acceptable presents to the Pope and his courtiers, and by offering for his acceptance some "jolly junkets and fine dishes of jellie made after the best fashion and manner, which to them of Rome was not known nor seene before," Thomas Cromwell and his friends from Boston obtained the coveted "pardon." This was in the year of our Lord 1510, says our historian

Foxe. Thomas would then be about twenty-five years of age.

Never had the Court of Rome been more notoriously and shamelessly corrupt than it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Cromwell must have seen and heard strange things about the Pope and Cardinals during his stay at Rome. No doubt his visit to the Eternal City helped to colour many of his opinions and actions in his subsequent career as *malleus monachorum* in England. Alexander Borgia, one of the most profligate Popes that ever disgraced and polluted an episcopal throne, had died in 1503 after a week's illness, induced by drinking a poisoned cup intended, as was commonly believed, for one of the guests that sat by his side at supper. "The moral degradation into which the Papacy sank under Alexander," says the historian Robertson, "has no parallel either in its earlier or in its later history. . . . The Pope and his children" (the notorious Cæsar and Lucretia Borgia) "are accused of profligacy which hesitated at nothing for its gratification, and never scrupled to remove obstacles by murder. The Vatican was polluted by revels and orgies of the most shameless and loathsome obscenity, of which the Pope and his daughter are represented as pleased spectators. A letter of the time paints the morals of the Papal Court in the darkest colours, and speaks of the Pope as a man stained with every vice. . . ." It was during the Papacy of this infamous man that the great Florentine preacher and reformer, Savonarola, was condemned, after a mock trial before the Papal Commissioners at Florence, to be hanged and burnt, and his ashes to be cast into the Arno.

At the time when Thomas Cromwell (1510) was at Rome, the occupant of the Papal throne was Julius II., a prelate who was accustomed personally to conduct campaigns, sieges, and other military enterprises, which were much more congenial to his taste than the perform-

ance of any episcopal functions. Neither age nor sickness could damp his military impetuosity. In the midst of winter he laid siege to the fortress of Mirandola, and in spite of frost and heavy snow he personally superintended the pointing of his cannon, and gave the word of command for their discharge. Can we be surprised at all, that almost every man who paid a visit to Rome during the Papacy of such Popes as Alexander Borgia, Julius II., and Leo X. should go away from its gates with mingled feelings of disgust and disappointment, as well as with a determination to aid in producing a reformation of abuses in the Church? Undoubtedly such were the impressions made respectively upon Thomas Cromwell, upon Erasmus, and upon Luther by their respective visits to Rome in the opening years of the momentous sixteenth century.

After having remained in Italy for some little time, Thomas Cromwell returned by slow journeys to Antwerp, and afterwards settled (1514) in London as a wool and cloth merchant, and also practised as a lawyer and scrivener in Fenchurch Street. About 1522 he removed from Fenchurch Street to Throgmorton Street, and shortly afterwards took a lease from the Mercers' Company of a mansion called "Great Place," at Stepney. In 1524 he entered the service of the King's chief Minister and favourite, Cardinal Wolsey, by whom he was confidentially employed in prosecuting the Cardinal's great undertaking of building the college of Christ Church at Oxford. In order to acquire sufficient funds for this purpose, the Cardinal employed Cromwell in suppressing a certain number of small monasteries and priories "in divers places of the realm," and their lands were seized for the benefit of the new college. Not many years passed before all the monasteries in England were suppressed by the same hands. His wife, whom he had married soon after he had settled in London, died in 1529, and on July 12

of that year he made his will, which has been printed at the end of the first volume of Froude's "History of England." It may be seen now in the Record Office, with the erasures and interlineations made by the hand of Thomas Cromwell himself. As a proof that he had not been unsuccessful in his pursuits, it may in passing be mentioned that the value of the property included in his will would at the present day be about £36,000. His subsequent history and sudden downfall are so fully recorded in every history of England that we need not further follow his eventful career, which was terminated on Tower Hill by the axe of the executioner on July 28, 1540.

It is now time for us to return to Sir Richard Cromwell and trace the links of connection between him and the Lord Protector of England. As we have seen, he had managed to win the special favour of that most capricious monarch Henry VIII., and hence when monasteries and abbeys and priories were suppressed, and their broad acres and immense wealth were seized by the royal hand, Sir Richard's claims were not forgotten by Henry and by his Minister, Thomas Cromwell, the maternal uncle, be it remembered, of Sir Richard. In the county of Huntingdon the monks of Ramsey Abbey had secured the possession of extensive estates and manors, and to Sir Richard and his heirs all those estates were granted by royal favour. Thus he became the possessor of the estates that had formerly belonged to the Abbey of Ramsey, the Convent of Hinchinbrook, and the priories of Saltrey, Huntingdon, and St. Neot's. He was made a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, Constable of Berkeley Castle, and Captain of the Horse sent into France under Sir John Wallop. Like many other English gentlemen of that generation, he seems to have used the stones of the dismantled abbeys and priories for the erection of convenient and comfortable manor-houses at Ramsey and at Hinchinbrook. His

wife was Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Murfyn, Lord Mayor of London, and by her he had a son, Henry, named, as is conjectured, after the King's majesty. His wife's fortune formed a considerable addition to his great possessions in Huntingdonshire. In due time Henry succeeded his father, and having married Joan, daughter of another Lord Mayor of London—Sir Ralph Warren—was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and died in 1603. By this marriage with the daughter of a wealthy London merchant, no doubt the wealth of the family was still further augmented. Upon account of his great wealth, munificence, and hospitality, Sir Henry was called "the Golden Knight."* His uncommon liberality was long remembered and spoken of by the good folk of Ramsey, who had been accustomed to see him throw money out of his coach amongst the crowd as he passed along the street of the little town. When he died, he left the bulk of his estates to his eldest son, Oliver, but he provided, it is said, £500 a year in land for each of his other sons—Robert, Henry, and Philip. Very shortly after Oliver had entered upon possession of his estates at Hinchinbrook, he was called upon to entertain King James I.,† then on his way from Scotland to London, there to be crowned King of England, and so hospitably did the owner of Hinchinbrook entertain his Sovereign, that the King, as a mark of royal favour, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. Thus we see that three members of the family were knighted by three successive Sovereigns—Richard by

* When Queen Elizabeth was returning from Cambridge in 1564, she slept at Hinchinbrook, the seat of Sir Henry Cromwell, and was most handsomely entertained by him. He represented the county of Huntingdon in Parliament in 1563, and was Sheriff of the two counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge in four different years.

† Not only did the worthy Knight entertain his Sovereign and retinue in a princely fashion, but likewise at his departure he made him handsome presents of a "large cup of gold, goodly horses, deep-mouthed hounds, doves, and hawks of excellent wing." These royal visits were expensive luxuries, as we know from other sources.

Henry VIII., Henry by Queen Elizabeth, and Oliver by James I.

Sir Oliver's first wife was a daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor of England; and his second wife was the widow of Sir Horace Pallavacini, a wealthy Genoese merchant. He lived to the advanced age of ninety-three, and was buried at Ramsey on August 28, 1655. By his two wives he had a numerous progeny, viz., five daughters and five sons, all of whom, like their father, were distinguished for their loyalty to the crown and their opposition to the Republican party.

One of Sir Oliver's sons, John, was a Captain in a regiment of English soldiers sent by James I. to assist in recovering the Palatinate for his son-in-law, and subsequently he became the Colonel of an English regiment in the service of Holland. Singularly enough, he was selected by the Prince of Wales, then an exile in Holland, to carry letters to Oliver, his cousin, and to intercede with him for sparing the life of the King—but in vain. Another son of Sir Oliver — William — also took service under Frederic, Elector-Palatine, and became a Colonel in his wars for the crown of Bohemia. He also held the office of "carver" in the household of the Princess Elizabeth, wife of Frederic.

No trace of any issue from either John or William has yet been discovered.

So deeply did the elder branch of the family detest the proceedings of their cousin Oliver, the Lord Protector, that some of them dropped the very name of Cromwell, and reverted to the name of Williams. Sir Oliver's extreme liberality towards all, from King to peasant, compelled him to sell Hinchinbrook in 1627 to Sir Sidney Montague, an ancestor of the Earl of Sandwich; and later on he had to part with Newport and Easton, in Essex, to Henry Maynard, Esq., an ancestor of the present Countess of Warwick, to whom Easton Park now

(1896) belongs. The exactions and oppressions, moreover, of the Republican party, directed against all rich Royalists, almost ruined old Sir Oliver and his sons, so that nearly all their estates had passed from their hands by the year 1675, when Ramsay became the property of Colonel Titus, author of the famous pamphlet entitled "Killing no Murder."

Henry, the eldest son of Sir Oliver Cromwell, born in 1586, took an active part on the Royalist side in the Great Rebellion, and in consequence his estate was sequestered by the Parliamentary Commissioners; but his cousin Oliver, the Lord Protector, caused the fine to be remitted and the land to be restored to its owner. Henry survived his father only two years, and died in 1657, leaving several daughters and one son, Henry. His eldest son, James, a Colonel in the Royalist army, had died before his father, without leaving, so far as is known, any issue. He fought on the Royalist side, and commanded a regiment of Cavaliers. His other son, Henry, born in 1625, succeeded to the family estate on the death of his father; retook the name of Williams; sat in several Parliaments as member for Huntingdonshire, and gave his vote in 1660 for the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his father. Notwithstanding the leniency shown to him by his cousin, the Lord Protector, so many demands had been made upon his patrimony that he died a poor man in 1673, leaving no son behind him, but a widow in possession of a very small jointure. The extensive estates, derived originally from the spoliation of the abbeys, had gradually passed from the hands of the Cromwells, who had been for a hundred years one of the most opulent and important families in Huntingdonshire. It will be noticed that the property had been acquired by a man who belonged to the Reformation party in the sixteenth century, and was lost by men who took the side of the Royalist party in the seventeenth century.

Though the elder branch of the family thus disappeared, there remained numerous representatives of the name, sprung from the three other sons of Sir Henry, "the Golden Knight," namely, Robert, Henry, and Philip. Moreover, the Rev. Mark Noble, in his "Memoirs of the House of Cromwell," published in 1787 (vol. i., p. 81), expressed an opinion that from Francis, the brother of "the Golden Knight," a family descended, who bore the name of Cromwell, *alias* Williams, and possessed property both in Huntingdonshire and Glamorganshire. Noble expresses himself very positively, saying, "It appears to me almost certain to a demonstration that these are the descendants of Francis Cromwell, Esq., the younger son of Sir Richard." From this family it is quite possible that some of those who bear the name of Cromwell at the present day may have descended, although the genealogical line cannot now be distinctly traced.

From Robert, the second son of Sir Henry, "the Golden Knight," sprang Oliver, the Lord Protector, born in St. John's parish, Huntingdon, on April 25, 1599, and baptized in the parish church on the 29th day of the same month, receiving his name from his uncle and godfather, Sir Oliver, of Hinchinbrook. Into the history of that most remarkable man, who was at once one of the ablest statesmen and one of the most daring, skilful, and successful generals that have ever sprung from the Anglo-Saxon race, it is not intended fully to enter. From the time when he entered Parliament, in 1640, to the day of his death, September 3, 1658, his history forms an important part of the history of England. During those eighteen eventful years he played a conspicuous part—hated and feared by thousands, and admired, almost adored, by at least an equal number. He received his early education at the grammar-school of his native town, and in April, 1616, he entered as an undergraduate at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Upon the death of

his father, in 1617, he went to study law at Lincoln's Inn, and the most damaging stories were told in after-years by his political enemies respecting this portion of his life. "If his professed enemies be credited," says Noble, "it will appear he had no guard whatever upon his actions at this period." But we cannot believe all that his professed enemies said about him. When his father died, Oliver was only eighteen years of age. At twenty-one he was married in St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate—the church where John Milton was buried. In 1628 he was sent to Parliament as member for the borough of Huntingdon. In 1631 he sold all his property in Huntingdon, and went to St. Ives, where he resided upon a farm till 1636, when he took up his residence at Ely, and farmed some land which had been recently bequeathed to him by his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward. There he continued to reside in a house adjoining St. Mary's Church till 1647, and he seems to have taken an active part in the management of local affairs and charities. In 1640 he took his seat in the famous Long Parliament as member for Cambridge, and then began the long and bitter struggle between King and Parliament.

The history of that fierce struggle, as already remarked, belongs to the general history of England, and does not enter into the plan of this book. The foregoing pages have been written with the object of placing before the reader a succinct account of the House of Cromwell, so far as is known, from the year 1308 to the opening of the great Civil War of the seventeenth century. In the succeeding pages will be found a genealogical account of the descendants of Oliver, the Lord Protector, followed by an account of the male descendants of his uncles, Henry and Philip.

CHAPTER II.

OLIVER, LORD PROTECTOR.

OLIVER CROMWELL, the only surviving son of Mr. Robert Cromwell, of Huntingdon, and Elizabeth Steward, of Ely, was born at Huntingdon, April 25, 1599, and christened in the parish church of St. John, receiving his baptismal name from his uncle and godfather, Sir Oliver Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook, Knight. On August 22, 1620, he was married at St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate, London, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bourchier, of Felsted, in Essex, Knight, and had issue five sons and four daughters, namely:

Robert, baptized at Huntingdon, October 13, 1621; buried at Felsted, May 31, 1639.

Oliver, baptized at Huntingdon, February 6, 1623; died of small-pox, 1644.

Richard, who succeeded his father in the Protectorate, born at Huntingdon, October 4, 1626; died at Cheshunt, July 12, 1712.

Henry, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, born at Huntingdon, January 20, 1628; died at Spinney Abbey, March 23, 1674.

James, baptized at Huntingdon, January 8, 1632; died in infancy.

Bridget, baptized at Huntingdon, August 4, 1624; buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, July 1, 1662.

Elizabeth, christened at Huntingdon, July 2, 1629; died at Hampton Court, August 6, 1658.

Mary, born at Ely, christened at Huntingdon, February 9, 1637; died at Chiswick, March 14, 1713.

Frances, christened at St. Mary's, Ely, December 6, 1638; died [at Spinney Abbey ?] January 27, 1721.

NOTE.—In the above list, and in all subsequent dates throughout this work, the year will be treated as commencing, not (as was the practice in England at the Civil War period) on March 25, but on January 1.

THE PROTECTRESS ELIZABETH.

The scurrilous literature which at the period of the Restoration found a victim in the quiet, dignified Lady Protectress is beneath notice. She was not without annoyance from the Government itself. Even before the King's return the newspapers were charging her with secreting sundry goods at a fruiterer's warehouse near the Three Cranes in Thames Street, including pictures and other royal property, with a view to exportation. And a few weeks later a search-warrant was issued, directing her and her sons to deliver up various deeds and evidences belonging to the Marquis of Worcester. These tribulations drew from her the following petition :

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"The humble petition of Elizabeth Cromwell, widow,—Sheweth, that among the many sorrows wherewith it hath pleased the allwise God to exercise your petitioner, she is deeply sensible of those unjust imputations whereby she is charged of detaining jewels and other goods belonging to your Majesty; which, besides the disrepute of it, hath exposed her to many violences and losses under pretence of searching for such goods, to the undoing of her in her

estate, and rendering her abode in any place unsafe;—she being willing to depose upon oath that she neither hath nor knows of any such jewels or goods. And whereas she is able to make it appear by sufficient testimony that she hath never intermeddled in any of those public transactions which have been prejudicial to your Majesty's royal father or yourself, and is ready to yield an humble and faithful obedience to your Majesty in your government,—She therefore humbly prays that your Majesty would be pleased to distinguish betwixt the concernments of your petitioner and those of her relations who have been obnoxious; and out of your princely goodness vouchsafe her a protection, without which she cannot expect, now in her old age, a safe retirement in any place of your Majesty's dominions. And she shall ever pray, etc.

"E. Cromwell."

This document is endorsed, "The petition of Old Noll's Wife." As to the venerable lady's whereabouts during this revolution of things, we have but scanty evidence. She had been ordered to quit the Cockpit soon after her son Richard's abdication; and we can hardly doubt that Henry, whose return from Ireland she was anxiously soliciting, now took her under his protection. Just before the King's arrival, Henry Coventry, writing to the Marquis of Ormond, April 27, says: "Cromwell's widow is stolen out of town, and her nighest friends pretend not to know whither." It has been asserted that for awhile she sought retirement in Wales, and even in Switzerland. All we know for certain is that she eventually found a permanent asylum at Northborough House in Northamptonshire, near Market Deeping, the residence of her son-in-law Claypole (still standing as a farmhouse), and that there she died on November 19, 1665. Further particulars respecting her latter days will occur in the lives of her children, Richard, Mary, and Frances.

CHAPTER III.

ROBERT, ELDEST SON OF THE PROTECTOR.

ROBERT was sent, together with his brother Oliver, and perhaps also with Richard, to the free grammar-school of Felsted, then under the management of Mr. Holbeach. This school, which had been founded by Lord Rich in 1564, was then in considerable repute. Drs. John Wallis and Isaac Barrow are said to have received their early education there. But what principally recommended the place to the judgment of Oliver was, no doubt, the circumstance that his sons would there be under the watchful observation of their maternal grandfather, Sir James Bourchier, whose seat, Grandcourts, was in the same parish on the road between Braintree and Felsted. Other neighbouring friends and relatives were the Mashams of Otes. The few scanty notices of this Robert, who was evidently a son after the father's heart, are of a very interesting character. The first occurs in 1638. Cromwell had been making a brief stoppage at Otes, where his cousin, Mrs. St. John, happened also to be paying a visit. Perhaps, as Mr. Carlyle suggests, he may have been taking one of his sons over to Felsted School, and on returning home took occasion to ride round by way of Otes and have a talk with his

pious kinsmen. The discourse passing at that interview had evidently been of a devotional character; so Mrs. St. John reminds him in a subsequent letter. Cromwell's reply to her is one of his most characteristic epistles; but the only use we need make of it here is to quote the reference it contains to one of his sons, presumably Robert: "Salute all my friends in that family whereof you are yet a member. I am much bound unto them for their love, I bless the Lord for them, and that my son by their procurement is so well. Let him have your prayers, your counsel; let me have them."

Seven months later this Robert died at Felsted,* of small-pox, to the unspeakable grief of his father. It was to this event he alluded on his death-bed, when he said, "This text" ["I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me"] "did once save my life, when my eldest son died; which went as a dagger to my heart; indeed it did." It was long supposed that the son thus alluded to was young Oliver, who fought by his father's side; and under this impression Mr. Carlyle inserted the name hypothetically into that colloquy, thus: "when my eldest son [poor Oliver] died" — which Monsieur Guizot copying, but failing to mark the doubt, introduced as "mon pauvre Olivier" into his own text, thus treating it as an unquestionable fact. The error had no doubt acquired confirmation from a passage in the father's letter of condolence to his brother-in-law, Valentine Wauton, who lost a son at Marston Moor. "Sir," says he, "you know my own trials this way"; and then soon after, recalling his favourite text, he adds, "You may do all things by the strength of Christ. Seek that, and you shall easily bear your trial." He had himself, in fact, just been compelled to put to the test the principle here recommended to his

* The old schoolroom, in which Oliver's sons were taught by Mr. Holbeach, still stands, and now is used as the Sunday-school. The names of many scholars are cut into the old oak wainscot.

brother. It is now fully confirmed that Robert, and not Oliver, was the son whose premature death rose to his memory in the hour of his own closing conflict. The discovery of this interesting fact is due to a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1856, whose narrative is as follows: "In the register of burials in the parish church of Felsted for 1639 occurs this entry:

"Robertus Cromwell filius honorandi viri Militis Oliveris Cromwell et Elizabethæ uxoris ejus sepultus fuit, 31 die Maii. Et Robertus fuit eximie pius juvenis Deum timens supra multos."

CHAPTER IV.

OLIVER, SECOND SON OF THE PROTECTOR.

OLIVER accompanied his brother Robert, as stated above, to Felsted School. On the breaking out of hostilities, that brother having recently died, Oliver was the only one of the sons old enough to bear arms, and he could not have been more than twenty when his name appears as Cornet in Troop Eight of Earl Bedford's Horse. Very few traces of his military career survive, except in the form of a reference to him occurring in Simon Gunton's "History of Peterborough." In that chronicle the elder Cromwell is represented, according to the usual custom of ignorant church-guides, as having been engaged in the mutilation of the cathedral. Young Oliver's share in the transaction becomes visible through the medium of one of his troopers, who, being about to burn a manuscript relating to the antiquities of the see, was persuaded by Mr. Humphrey Austin, the precentor, to surrender it for the sum of 10s., and to ensure its preservation by subscribing an acquittance on the fly-leaf, which Mr. Austin thereupon prefaced by the following "*Memorandm.*—This book was hid in the Church by me, Humphrey Austin, February, 1643, and found by one of Colonel Cromwell's soldiers when they pulled down

all the seats in the Choir, 22 April, 1643. And I making inquiry among them for an old Latin Bible which was lost, I found out at last the party who had it, and I gave him for the book ten shillings, as you see by this acquittance" [here following].

"I pray let this scripture book alone, for he hath paid me for it, and therefore I would desire you to let it alone. By me Henry Topcliffe, soldier under Captain Cromwell, Colonel Cromwell's son. Therefore I pray you let it alone. *Henry Topcliffe.* 22 April, 1643."

The book thus rescued was entitled, "The Leger-book of Peterborough," being the annals of the see, compiled by a monk of the establishment named Robert Swapham. We know full well that the Cromwell family, wherever they could make their influence felt throughout the war, rigorously discountenanced violations of this kind; and a letter of the younger Oliver turns up at this very date to corroborate the fact.

"*To the right worshipful and worthy friend Samuel Smythe, Esq., Steward of the City of Norwich.*

"Worthy Sir,

"I am sorry that I should have such an occasion to write to Norwich, concerning those which say they came from that noble city which hath furnished our armies (I can speak by experience) with godly men; but indeed I suppose them rather spurious offspring of some ignoble place. Sir, thus it is, that among honest men, some knaves have been admitted into my troop, who coming with expectation of some base ends but being frustrated of them, and finding that this cause did not nourish their expectations, have to the dishonour of God, and my discredit, and their own infamy, deserted the cause and me their captain. Therefore, Sir, look upon them as dishonourers of God's cause, and high displeasers of my

father, myself, and the whole regiment. In brief, I would desire you to make them severe examples, by taking and returning the arms and horses of all that have not a ticket under my hand, and to clap them up into prison, and inflicting of such punishment as you shall think fit. Especially I desire that you would deal severely with one Robert Waffe [Wasse ?] and Simon Scafe. Pray, Sir, cause to return speedily all that had liberty from me to go to their friends. And likewise I desire you would secure a good horse from some of your malignants to mount one of my soldiers, John Manning, now at Norwich, who was lately taken prisoner by the enemy and by that means destitute. And pray do me the favour to mount such men as this bearer, Richard Waddelow, my clerk, shall procure. And so I rest,

"Yours to command,
"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"From my quarters at Peterborough,
"15 Aug. 1643."

Young Oliver died of small-pox at Newport Pagnell in the second week of March, 1644. He was a very handsome young gentleman, says the author of the memoir of Richard Cromwell in "Lives and Characters of Illustrious Persons dying in 1711." "His father had suddenly summoned him to join the army, and he soon after fell a victim to that complaint in the flower of his youth." In opposition to the quite apocryphal statement contained in the "Squire Papers," the occasion and whereabouts of his death is authoritatively established by a passage in the *Parliament Scout*, March 15 to 22, 1644: "Colonel Cromwell is gone with his forces from Burlingham to Stony Stratford and Brickhill, and begins to increase in power. He hath lost his eldest son, who is dead of the small-pox at Newport [Newport Pagnell], a civil young gentleman, and the joy of his father."

CHAPTER V.

RICHARD, THIRD SON OF THE PROTECTOR.

LIKE his two elder brothers, Richard was sent to Felsted School; after which he resided in the Temple in London during the war, and at the age of twenty was admitted to the Society of Lincoln's Inn. The Protectorate of Great Britain and Ireland, into which he was installed on the death of his father, was a troublous reign of eight months, the story of which would be unsuitable in this place. At the Restoration he fled the kingdom, more out of fear of his creditors than of the King, leaving his wife and children behind him at Hursley Lodge, near Romsey, in Hants. After twenty years' residence abroad in Paris and elsewhere, he returned to England in 1680—a period when the increasing unpopularity of Charles II. divested such a step of any great danger—and, under the assumed name of Clarke, either occupied a small estate which he owned at Cheshunt, or shared the roof of his friend, Serjeant Sir Thomas Pengelly (afterwards Chief Baron of the Exchequer), whose house was that standing near Cheshunt Church, and subsequently known as the Rectory.* His

* Pengelly House in modern times became the property of a gentleman named Atwood, who bequeathed it for charitable purposes. It was subsequently used as a school. In 1880 it was destroyed by fire; estimated damage, £10,000.

wife had been dead five years; his only surviving son was in possession of large property derived from her; and of his daughters, one was already married to Dr. Gibson (of whom hereafter); another was perhaps still living at Hursley; and a third, Dorothy, just then nineteen years of age, was on the point of becoming the wife of John Mortimer, a Somersetshire squire. Richard's return to England at this juncture favours the suggestion that one of the objects he had in view was to be present at the ceremony. The young lady died the following year in childbed. There were now only two daughters and one son, Oliver, remaining out of a family of nine. This son died unmarried in 1705, when the question arose whether the Hursley estate which he inherited from his mother passed directly to his sisters as co-heirs, or to Richard their father for his life. The sisters proposed to compromise the affair by paying him an annuity; but Richard, preferring that the matter should be decided in Chancery, obtained a decree in his own favour.

This affair being settled, Richard appears to have spent a considerable portion of the remaining seven years of his life at Hursley, where in company with his daughters he attended the parish church on Sunday mornings, and in the afternoon rode alone in his coach to a Baptist meeting-house in Romsey. He died at Cheshunt July 12, 1712, and lies buried in the chancel of Hursley Church. His death is said to have taken place in the house of his Cheshunt friend, Pengelly, above mentioned, the counsel who had successfully conducted his cause in 1705, and to whom he was strongly attached. In his will he bequeaths a personal souvenir to his good friend Mrs. Rachel Pengelly. Some other names, too, are mentioned, but his daughters are not referred to. He knew that they would take the Hursley estate after him, and of personal property he probably had but little. He enjoyed, we are told, a good state of health to the last,

and at fourscore would gallop his horse for several miles together. In person he is described as tall, fair-haired, and "the lively image of his father." A letter of T. Whiston, quoted by Mark Noble, asserts that the Cromwells as a family possessed great bodily strength, and were of robust constitutions, many of them attaining considerable longevity. On the other hand, it is observable how many of them died in infancy, but this may have been owing to the ignorant medical treatment of those days.

As to his character, Richard has shared in the defamation which, more or less, overtook all the members of his family. He is now known to have been an upright, generous, and sagacious man—fully aware that the turbulent crew around him when he became Protector had made peace impossible, but resolving at the same time not to shed a drop of blood in defence of a false position. A humane temper is not necessarily a weakness; and certainly John Howe, who knew him well, did not deem him a weak man. On one occasion in after-years, when some person in Mr. Howe's presence charged the ex-Protector with weakness, the venerable divine exclaimed: "How could that man be termed weak who, when the army remonstrance was brought to him by Fleetwood, stood it out all night against the whole Council, and continued the debate till four o'clock in the morning, maintaining that to dissolve that Parliament would be his and their ruin—with none but Thurloe to abet him?" Dr. Isaac Watts, who in his youthful days was privileged to hold many conversations with Richard Cromwell, testifies that his abilities were by no means contemptible. He further remarks that in all these interviews, the ex-Protector never but on one occasion referred to his former elevation, and then only in a very cursory manner. Another favourable witness was William Tonge, of Denmark Street, Soho, who described to Dr. Thomas

Gibbons Richard's occasional visits to some friends there, his appearance in a place of worship, his unblemished character, and the pleasantry which characterized his talk. He corroborates Watts's remark about his unwillingness to refer to former times.

John Howe, the divine above mentioned, who had been chaplain in succession to both the Protectors, died in London in 1702. He was visited in his last sickness by Richard Cromwell, then seventy-six years of age, who, hearing that his old friend was near his end, had come up from the country to make him a respectful visit and to take a final farewell. Much serious discourse, we are told, passed between the two patriarchal men, and their parting was solemn and affectionate. When Richard's own end was approaching, some few years later, he said to his two attendant daughters, "Live in love; I am going to the God of love." His affectionate disposition is revealed in the following letter, written to one of these daughters from the house of his friend, Sir Thomas Pengelly, at Cheshunt, ten years after his return to England.

Richard Cromwell to Mrs. Anne Gibson.

"18 December, 1690.

"DEAR,

"Think not that I forget you, though I confess that I have been silent too long in returning and owning that of yours to me. That which was one bar, I knew not, upon Mrs. Abbott's removing, how to send so as my letter might come safe to you. For though we write nothing of State affairs, they being above our providential sphere, yet I am not willing to be exposed; nor can there be that freedom when we are thoughtful of such restraint as a peeping eye. The hand by which this comes [to you] gave me a hint as if there were some foul play to

letters directed to him [to Pengelly?]. Dear heart, I thank thee for thy kind and tender expressions to me, and I assure thee (if there had been cause) they would have melted me. There is a great deal of pity, piety, and love. What I had before, was so full that I had not the least room to turn a thought or surmise. But what shall I say? My heart was full, but now it overflows. You have put joy and gladness into it. How unworthy am I to have such a child! And I know I may venture to say that the like parallel is not to be found. What I said was experienced matter for information. What you replied was in behalf of those who professed themselves to be the Lord's people; and they that are truly such are as tender as the apple of His eye. I rejoice in that we both of us love them; yet we are not to deny our reasons as to the mischiefs some of them have been instrumental [in causing] not only in particular to a family, but in general to the Church of Christ. Besides, what woes are hanging over these nations! May we not go farther, and bring in all Christendom? I have been alone thirty years banished and under silence; and my strength and safety is to be retired, quiet and silent. We are foolish in taking our cause out of the hand of God. Our Saviour will plead, and God will do right [as] He hath promised. Let us join our prayers for faith and patience. If we have heaven, let whoso will, get the world. My hearty, hearty, hearty affection and love to your sister and self. Salute all friends. I rest, commending you to the blessing of the Almighty. Again farewell.

"Your truly loving father,

"R. C.

"Present me to all friends. Landlord and Landlady [the Pengellys] present respects and service."

NOTE.—In his extant letters he avoids names and places as much as possible, his object being to keep out of harm's way.

The few incoherences visible in the above would probably adjust themselves fairly enough, did we know the substance of the letter which brought them forth; though it is not unlikely that an obscure and involved style would become habitual to one writing under the constant fear of having his letters opened; to say nothing of his having spoken French for twenty years.

The story of Richard's twenty years' exile is involved in much obscurity. The following document, preserved in the Record Office, may help in some small measure to remove it. It is numbered CLI. 17, *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.*, and was first brought before the public notice in the *Athenæum*, April 12, 1862, by Mrs. Everett Green, who opened the subject by stating that during the war with Holland the Government of Charles II., fancying that the English "fanatics" resident abroad were in league with the Provinces against their own country, came to the resolution of fetching them home by a threat of high treason. An Act was thereupon passed, beginning with the direct attainder of three, to wit, Thomas Dolman, James Bampfield, and Thomas Scott; and further enacting that any others who should refuse to come when summoned would incur the like penalty. This was in 1665, and the next year it became known that a list of fugitives had been nominated, including Richard Cromwell. Mrs. Cromwell, his wife, becoming justly alarmed, sent her agent, William Mumford, twice up to London to procure, if possible, the withdrawal of her husband's name from the proclamation. As the opportunity seemed a favourable one for getting at the personal history of the ex-Protector, the agent himself was put under examination, and deposed as follows:

"The examination of William Mumford of Hursley near Winchester Co. Hants. yeoman; taken this 15 March, 1666, before me Edmund Warcupp Esq. one of his

Majesty's Justices of the peace for the said county and liberties. This examinant saith that he is menial servant to Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell, wife to Richard Cromwell, living at Hursley; and hath belonged to him and to her these eleven years last past, and now manageth Mrs. Cromwell's business in the country or London as her occasions require. He saith that he came to London about five weeks since to apply to Dr. Wilkins to move my Lord Chancellor [Hyde] that Richard Cromwell's name might be omitted in his Majesty's Proclamation to call his English subjects out of France, for that his debts would ruin him in case he should be necessitated to return into England; and Dr. Wilkins informed this examinant that his lordship the Lord Chancellor told him he knew not of Richard Cromwell's name being at all put into the proclamation, whereupon this examinant immediately returned into the country. But the rumour continuing that Richard Cromwell's name would be in, he returned again to London by his mistress's order yesterday was three weeks, and then lodged at one William Taste's a baker in Air Street, Piccadilly, and his horse stands at the Bear there;—that at the first time of this examinant's being in town he received a letter from Richard Cromwell directed to himself but was for Mrs. Cromwell, the contents whereof was complaints for money and condoling for his mother's death; and saith he knoweth not of any other person, that Richard Cromwell correspondeth with, but this examinant. He further saith, that this examinant's wife's sister Elizabeth Blackstone having by distraction murdered her neighbour's child and been committed to Newgate for the offence, this examinant repaired to Newgate to assist her in her distracted condition, and this was all the reason why he went to Newgate. He further saith, that as far as he knows or believes, the said Richard Cromwell doth not hold any intelligence with any Fanatics nor with the King of France

or States of Holland; and that to avoid any jealousy of it, the said Richard Cromwell is by Dr. Wilkins' advice gone or going into Italy or Spain, and that the last letter this examinant sent to him five weeks since was directed to John Clarke at Monsieur Bauvais' in Paris, by which name the said Richard Cromwell now passeth, and doth usually change his name with his dwelling, that he may keep himself unknown beyond the seas, so as to avoid all correspondency or intelligence, which this examinant knows he industriously avoideth; for during last winter twelve month he lived with the said Richard Cromwell in Paris, and the whole diversion of him there was drawing of landscapes and reading of books; And he saw no Englishman, Scotch, or Irishman in his company during that whole time, nor any Frenchmen but such as instructed him in the sciences. This examinant further saith that he hath not any intelligence with any person whatsoever to his knowledge, that doth intend or act anything whatsoever against his Majesty; and that he conceives himself bound in duty and conscience to discover all traitors or traitorous conspiracies against his Majesty or his Government; and that the estate of Richard Cromwell in right of his wife is but £600 per annum, and that he knoweth Richard Cromwell is not sixpence the better or richer for being the son of his father, or [for being] the pretended Protector of England; and that the estate of old Mrs. Cromwell lately deceased was in the hands and management of Jeremy White, chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, and now at Sir John Russell's at Chippenham, who will not come to any account for the same, and who hath not yet conformed. This examinant further saith, that he knoweth not of any person who writes to the said Richard besides this examinant and Mrs. Cromwell his wife; and that he knoweth not nor ever heard, that the Scotch regiment is coming out of France; and he is certain that the said Richard

never intended to come over with it, but is gone or going into Spain or Italy as advised. He further saith, that he hath often heard Richard Cromwell pray in his private prayers for his Majesty, praying God to make his Majesty a nursing father to his people, speaking often with great reverence of his Majesty's grace and favour to himself and family in suffering them to enjoy their lives and the little fortunes they have; And this examinant further saith that he will not meddle any further in the said Richard Cromwell's affairs, if it be any way prejudicial to his Majesty's service; and that he hath not, nor the said Richard Cromwell, to this examinant's knowledge, acted directly or indirectly anything against his Majesty's Government since his Majesty's happy restoration, and that himself hath taken the Oaths of allegiance and supremacy. And further sayeth not.

"William Mumford.

"(Signed) Edmund Warcupp."

The falsity of Hyde's statement that Richard Cromwell's name was not in the list is proved by another paper endorsed "26 March, 1666, Names of the fourteen persons to be warned home by a proclamation in pursuance of the Act." They were as follows: William Scott, Sir Robert Honeywood, jun., Colonel John Disbrowe, Colonel Kilpatrick, John Grove, Algernon Sydney, Oliver St. John, Richard Steele, Newcomen and Hickman, two ministers, Richard Cromwell, John Phelps, Colonel Cobbett, Richard Deane. On maturer consideration, all these names were withdrawn except five, Richard Cromwell's being one of those withdrawn.

THE PROTECTRESS DOROTHY.

Richard's wife, whom he married in 1649, shortly after the death of Charles I., was Dorothy, eldest daughter and co-heir of Richard Major, a wealthy landowner of Hursley aforesaid, and of Merdon, in Surrey. This was a marriage in which the elder Protector testified unqualified satisfaction, on account of the personal piety, not only of the father, but also of "Dear Doll" herself; and the allusions which he makes in his letters to her on-coming family look as though he cherished the hope that his grandchildren would sustain his own greatness. The few surviving memorials of the lady herself represent her as a prudent, godly, and practical Christian, much devoted to acts of personal charity. For a while she was terribly cast down by the reverse of fortune which drove her husband and herself from the palace of Whitehall to the obscurity of the Hursley retreat, an event aggravated simultaneously by the decease of her father, Mr. Major, and the flight of her husband into prolonged exile. It is true, she had her infant family to rear, the birth of her youngest child, Dorothy, occurring just as her husband left the English shore; but her bright hopes in respect of their future fortunes were utterly dashed, and the chagrin which darkened her own reflections seems traceable in their education. One result of affliction was the strengthening of her Nonconformist principles, and her active benevolence thenceforward found expression in endeavours to solace and protect divers ministers ejected by the Uniformity Act of 1662. She died on January 5, 1676, in the forty-ninth year of her age, and lies buried in the chancel of Hursley Church. Her children, nine in number, were as follows:

I. ELIZABETH, born in 1650. This is "the little brat"

after whose welfare the elder Protector makes inquiry in a letter to Mr. Major on July 17, wherein also he chides the young parents for neglecting to write to him, and says of dear Doll, "I doubt not her husband hath spoiled her. . . . I hope you give my son good counsel: I believe he needs it; he is in the dangerous time of his age, and it's a very vain world." Touching the baby, Mr. Carlyle thinks "the poor little thing must have died soon," and he adds that "in Noble's inexact lists there is no trace of its ever having lived." But Mark Noble is strictly exact in this matter, and gives us all the information we need. Oliver's good wishes, too, were amply fulfilled, for the little Elizabeth outlived all her brothers and sisters, and reached the age of eighty-one. She appointed as executors Richard and Thomas Cromwell, grandsons of Henry, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, desiring them to erect in Hursley Church a monument setting forth all the particulars of the Cromwell and Major alliances, a task which they duteously fulfilled. And as she was the last surviving representative of her father's house, a vast collection of portraits, letters, and other family relics, descended from her to her executors. She will again come under our notice.

II. ANNE, born in 1651; died in infancy, and was buried at Hursley.

III. A son, baptized at Hursley November 3, 1652; buried there in the following month.

IV. MARY, born in 1654, died in infancy; buried at Hursley.

V. A fourth daughter, born in 1655, lived only twelve days.

VI. OLIVER, son and heir, of whom hereafter (p. 41).

VII. DOROTHY, born in 1657; died next year during the Protectorate of her father, who prudently refrained from opening the Westminster Abbey vault, and caused the body to be quietly buried at Hursley.

VIII. Anna, born in 1659 during her father's Protectorate. She became the wife of Dr. Thomas Gibson, Physician-General of the Army, whom she survived many years. Her own death occurred in 1727, in the sixty-ninth year of her age, and a marble monument in St. George's Chapel in the Foundling Hospital commemorates husband and wife. Dr. Gibson by will appointed that after his wife's decease the whole of his property should pass to his nephew, Dr. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London. The prelate maintained a respectful and intimate correspondence with his widowed aunt so long as she lived, and it is conjectured that the terse and comprehensive Life of Oliver, which about that period went through so many editions, was the result of his honourable and appreciative attachment to the family. The two surviving sisters—that is to say, Mrs. Gibson and her elder sister, Miss Elizabeth Cromwell—lived together in Bedford Row, and after the death of their only brother, Oliver, must have been very wealthy. We catch an interesting glimpse of them in 1719 from the journal of Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, who long resided in St. Edmund Hall, Oxford: "On Saturday, 5 September, came to Oxford two daughters of Richard Cromwell, son of Oliver Cromwell, Protector, one of whom is married to Dr. Gibson, the physician, who wrote 'The Anatomy'; the other is unmarried. They are both Presbyterians, as is also Dr. Gibson, who was with them. They were at the Presbyterian Meeting-house in Oxford on Sunday morning and evening; and yesterday they and all the gang with them dined at Dr. Gibson's, the Provost of Queen's, who is related to them, and made a great entertainment for them, expecting something from them, the physician being said to be worth £30,000. They went from Oxford after dinner."—("Reliquiæ Hearneanæ," vol. ii.)

Mr. Hewling Luson (related to Henry's line), of whom

more hereafter, says: "I have been several times in company with these ladies. They were well-bred, well-dressed, stately women, exactly punctilious; but they seemed, especially Mistress Cromwell, to carry about them a consciousness of high rank, accompanied with a secret dread that those with whom they conversed should not observe and acknowledge it. They had neither the good sense nor the great enthusiasm of Mrs. Bendysh. But as the daughter of Ireton had dignity without pride, the daughters of Richard Cromwell had pride without much dignity."

Mr. Luson might have added that they habitually assisted other branches of the family who were in less prosperous circumstances than themselves. When the death of their father had left these two ladies at liberty to dispose of the family estate at Hursley, they sold it to Sir William Heathcote for £34,000 or £35,000, who at once proceeded to pull down the old mansion, and to rebuild it from the very foundations. In 1894 the Hursley estate passed from the Heathcote family into the possession of Mr. Baxendale.

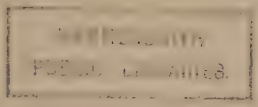
IX. DOROTHY, born at Hursley, August 1, 1660. The date of her father's flight from England has been approximately determined by Mark Noble as in July or August—that is to say, some few weeks after King Charles II.'s return, and it seems reasonable to suppose that his object in lingering here so long was to await the issue of this the last birth in the family, and, as it proved to be a girl, to give for the second time the beloved name of Dorothy, which conjecture may be coupled with the other already made, that his return to England in 1680 was in part prompted by the resolution to occupy his paternal place at her wedding. The young lady married John Mortimer, Esq., of Somersetshire, F.R.S., author of "The Whole Art of Husbandry," published in 1708. He is said to have half ruined himself by experiments in agricultural

science; but before this happened his wife had died in child-bed within a year after her marriage. This was on May 14, 1681. Dorothy therefore is not to be credited with any share in that transaction of her sisters when they disputed their father's rights in 1705.

Oliver Cromwell, only surviving son of the Protector Richard, was born at Hursley in 1656. It was very natural that the elder Protector, after hearing of so many deaths among his grandchildren at Hursley, should express a partiality for one who at last gave fair promise of healthy existence. Little Oliver accordingly was brought up from Hampshire, probably to Hampton Court, and remained there till the deposition of his father, when, together with his sisters, he was sent down to Hursley. Of his early manhood little is known; but at the period of the Revolution in 1688, being then in possession of the estate, which he inherited from his mother, he came forward with a patriotic proposal to raise a regiment of horse for service in Ireland, if he might be permitted to name his own officers. The politic William may have had no desire at that juncture of affairs to see a rival for popularity in the person of a second Oliver Cromwell, and the offer was declined. It was a like cautious feeling, perhaps, which gave bias to the Election Committee, who in the second year of William and Mary rejected the petition of Oliver Cromwell and Thomas Jervoise, Esquires, when they claimed to have been legally returned for the borough of Lymington. It is well known that the contested elections, whose details crowd the *Commons' Journals* of that and the succeeding age, were often made to turn on arbitrary, diverse, and obsolete customs prevailing in this or that borough; so that, as the law of one borough was no law for its neighbour, the returns could be adjusted pretty much as the Government desired.

Mr. Say, the Dissenting minister, to whom we are indebted for so many reminiscences of the family, says

he had seen this Mr. Cromwell, and could testify that he had something of the spirit of his grandfather; while another contemporary writer adds that "he had his look and genius." But notwithstanding that, like his own father, he presented the marks of robust manhood, he passed away prematurely in 1705 in the fiftieth year of his age, and was buried in the family vault at Hursley. His will, written in 1686, when thirty years old, makes mention of his "honoured father," but the principal money bequests are to his sisters, giving £2,000 to each, if they married in their father's lifetime. Legacies are also left to Benjamin Disbrowe of London, merchant, to Paris Slater and William Wightman of London, William Rudyard of Hackney, Edward Rayner and Mary his wife, John Leigh, Thomas Wade, his cousin Elizabeth Barton, his loving friend Samuel Tomlins, B.D., and Mrs. Anne Thomas.



CHAPTER VI.

HENRY, FOURTH SON OF THE PROTECTOR.

HENRY, like his brothers, received such brief education as the stormy times would permit, at Felsted. He joined his father in arms about the time of the remodelling of the army, being then only sixteen years of age; and three years afterwards he held either a captaincy in Harrison's regiment or in Sir Thomas Fairfax's Life-Guards. In the summer of 1648 he served under his father in the North of England. Advanced to a colonelcy in February, 1650, he accompanied his father in the short but decisive Irish campaign, being present at the death-bed of his brother-in-law, Henry Ireton, who died at Limerick in 1651. At the age of twenty-five Henry sat in the Barebones Parliament in 1653 as a representative of Ireland. On May 10, 1653, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Russell of Chippenham, Bart., and on February 22 in the year following entered at Gray's Inn. His subsequent career as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland brought to light all those faculties which proved him the worthy son of such a father. He remained at his post during the two Protectorates, having throughout a sore fight to maintain with fanatics of every class, but harassed prin-

cipally by the difficulty of getting the soldiers' pay from England. Rapin's observation, made after the event, has been accepted by most subsequent historians, namely, that if Henry had succeeded to the Protectorate instead of Richard, the Republican officers would have met their match.

A strong attachment had sprung up between Henry Cromwell and his brother-in-law, Lord Fauconberg, even before they met. Henry and his wife were in Ireland at the time of Fauconberg's marriage with Mary Cromwell; but from and after that event the letters passing between them were increasingly cordial and confidential. While their brother Fleetwood, in conjunction with Disbrowe, Lambert, Berry, and the rest, were plotting the fall of the Protector Richard, Fauconberg supplied Henry with constant information, and both united in scorn for the fanaticism which in Fleetwood they felt to be but the feeble resurrection of an obsolete creed—the theory, as Henry formulated it, of "Dominion founded in Grace." At the Restoration, Henry retired to the home of his father-in-law, Sir Francis Russell, at Chippenham, in Cambridgeshire, there to await the outcome of the political chaos. After a residence of five or six years at Chippenham, he removed to his own estate at Spinney Abbey near Soham, worth about £500 or £600 a year, which he purchased in 1661, where in rural occupations he passed the remaining nine years of his life. He died on March 23, 1674, of that painful disorder, the stone, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and was buried at Wicken Church, in Cambridge. Though he is styled plain "Henry Cromwell" on his tomb, yet in his will he writes himself "Sir Henry Cromwell of Spinney in Cambridgeshire, Knight," being not unwilling, suggests Noble, to let the world know, when he could not be called to account for it, that he thought it an honour to have received knighthood from his father. He had also been made one of the

Lords of the Upper House in 1657, but his work in Ireland prevented his sitting. In his will he mentions only two names, those of his wife and his eldest son Oliver, to the former of whom he devises all his estates in England and Ireland with absolute power of disposal.

The lands of Cromwell in Meath and Connaught were confirmed to his trustees by special proviso of the Act of Settlement, but his family seems to have lost them in the next generation.

It may not be left untold that after his retirement into private life he conformed to the Established Church, and that, too, at a period when imprisonment and confiscation were the weapons of the Church's warfare against many of his personal relations and political friends. He had learnt, it is true, during his dictatorship in Ireland the necessity of holding the scales of justice uninfluenced by polemical distinctions; and it is evident that he acquired during the process much stronger prejudices than his father ever entertained against religious enthusiasts. While this may partly account for his subsequent choice, it is more than probable that his wife's preferences in the same direction operated as a concurrent influence. We are told that an Anglican chaplain was maintained at Spinney Abbey during her widowhood, till the Nonconformity of the next generation displaced him. On the other hand, Henry had given asylum to Richard Parr, the Vicar of his own parish of Chippenham, when ejected for Nonconformity.

Henry Cromwell's Petition to King Charles II.

"SHEWETH,

"That your petitioner doth heartily acquiesce in the providence of God for restoring your Majesty to the government of these nations;—That all his actions have been without malice either to the person or to the interest

of your Majesty, but only out of natural duty to his late father;—That your petitioner did, all the time of his power in Ireland, study to preserve the peace, plenty and splendour of that kingdom, did encourage a learned ministry, giving not only protection but maintenance to several Bishops there; placed worthy persons in the seats of judicature and magistracy, and to his own great prejudice upon all occasions was favourable to your Majesty's professed friends. He therefore humbly beseeches your Majesty that the tender consideration of the premisses and of the great temptations and necessities your petitioner was under, may extenuate your Majesty's displeasure against him;—and that your Majesty, as a great instance of your clemency and an acknowledgement of the great mercy which your royal self hath received from Almighty God, would not suffer him, his wife and children to perish from the face of the Earth, but rather to live and expiate what hath been done amiss with their future prayers and services for your Majesty. In order whereunto your said petitioner humbly offers to your Majesty's most gracious consideration, that since he is already outed of about £2,000 per annum which he held in England, and for which £4,000 portion was paid by your petitioner's wife's friends to his late father, he may obtain your Majesty's grant for such lands already in his possession upon a common account with many others in Ireland, as shall by law be adjudged forfeited and in your Majesty's dispose. And forasmuch as your petitioner hath laid out near £6,000 upon the premises, that your Majesty would recommend him to the next Parliament in Ireland to deal favourably with him concerning the same, and according to your petitioner's deportment for the common good of that place. And lastly your petitioner most humbly beseeches your most excellent Majesty,—that no distinction between himself and other your Majesty's good subjects may be branded on him to posterity;—that so he may without fear, and as

well out of interest as duty, serve your Majesty all his days; who shall ever pray, &c.

"H. CROMWELL."

Certificate annexed.

"Whereas we were desired to testify our knowledge concerning the value of the lands to be confirmed to Colonel Henry Cromwell, we do hereby certify as followeth, viz.—That the lands in Ireland possessed by the said Colonel Cromwell on 7 May 1659 were in satisfaction of £12,000 in debentures or near thereabouts;—That debentures were commonly bought and sold for four, five, and six shillings in the pound, few yielding more even in the dearest times. According to which rates the said lands might have been had for between three and four thousand pounds. Which said sum with the improvements by him made thereupon, is as much as the same is now worth to be sold; and is all we know he hath to subsist upon for himself and family. Given under our hands this 23 February 1661.

"MASSEREENE.
"AUDLEY MERVYN."

Henry's wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Francis Russell aforesaid, survived her husband thirteen years. Elegant in manners and exemplary in conduct, she was long remembered in the neighbourhood as "the good Lady Cromwell." Her grandson, William Cromwell, of Kirby Street, informed Dr. Gibbons that though, like many others, she had at first entertained a hostile feeling towards the Protector Oliver, yet on becoming his daughter-in-law, closer observation changed her antipathies into affectionate esteem, and led her to regard him as the most amiable of parents. Her death occurred on April 7, 1687, in the fifty-second year of her age; and her monument, with those of others of the family, is preserved in Wicken Church, Cambridgeshire.

Issue of Henry Cromwell, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Lady Elizabeth Russell.

I. OLIVER, born in Dublin, 1656; died at Spinney Abbey, 1685, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and, as is supposed, unmarried. The story of the infant's birth is thus recorded in a news-letter of the day: "*From Dublin.* On the 19th of April my lord Henry Cromwell became the joyful father of a son; which, as it hath been matter of great joy to us, so I presume it will be welcome news to you. The earnest prayers of good people gave his lordship's lady so easy a deliverance that the most part of her ladyship's travail was spent in dispatching letters for England. The joy thereof confined not itself long within the walls of their private family, but was straight blazed by several bonfires throughout the city; the honest townsmen seeming emulous who should contribute the greatest solemnity for so great a mercy. On the 24th following, the joys were more perfect, there being more congratulations for the infant's admission into the Church by baptism than for its entrance into the world by birth; his lordship having openly in Christ-church offered up his child that day to the Lord in that ordinance, and given it His Highness's name. Which so heightened the joy of the congregation, that I never saw in one meeting more eyes and I believe hearts more intently lifted up in prayer, never heard more passionate praises for a blessing, than on that day; which gives no small support to my faith that a child of such prayers and praises shall not miscarry."

II. HENRY, born in Dublin in 1658; of whom hereafter.

III. FRANCIS, born at Chippenham in 1663; died unmarried in 1719.

IV. RICHARD, born at Spinney Abbey in 1665; died unmarried in London in 1687.

V. WILLIAM, born at Spinney Abbey in 1667; died unmarried in the East Indies in 1692.

VI. ELIZABETH, born at Whitehall in 1654; died at Chippenham, 1659, in the house of her maternal grandfather, Sir Francis Russell. This is the "Sweet Betty" referred to in Fleetwood's letter to Henry in 1656.

VII. ELIZABETH, born just after the decease of the preceding, therefore taking her name. On August 30, 1681, she was married at Dover to William Russell, of Fordham, son of Gerard Russell and grandson of Sir William Russell, the first Baronet, consequently first cousin to her mother, the Lady Elizabeth. Of this marriage the issue was fourteen children, but the habits of the parents appear to have been unthrifty. Moving for awhile among the county gentry, and maintaining with that object a style of living far beyond their means, Mr. Russell escaped his creditors only in the grave, and the widow fled with the surviving children to London, where she died in 1711. Her family was as follows:

I. O'Brian William, born 1684, fate unknown.

II., III., IV., V., VI. Henry, John, William, Edward, Thomas, died young or unmarried, two of them at sea.

VII. Francis, born 1692; became a hosier in London. His son Thomas, born 1724, had issue. William died abroad unmarried, and Rebecca, who died in 1832, by her second husband, William Dyer, of Ilford, Esq., a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of Essex, left five children, *viz.*: (1) William Andrew, sometime of 34, Guildford Street, W.C.; (2) Charles Adams, formerly of Canewdon Hall, Rochford, Essex; (3) Thomas John, in the East India Company's service; (4) Mary Eliza; (5) Louisa.

VIII. Mary, of whom presently.

IX. Sarah became the wife of Martin Wilkins, a substantial landowner of Soham, whose two children died in infancy.

X. Name unknown; became Mrs. Nelson of Mildenhall, and had a daughter, the wife of Mr. Redderock, a solicitor of that place, and the mother of several children.

XI. Margaret, of whom presently (p. 52).

Issue of Mary, eldest married daughter of William and Elizabeth Russell of Fordham.

This lady married Mr. Robert D'Aye, of Soham, and long outlived him, her protracted widowhood being passed at Soham, where her poverty was in some measure relieved by an annual grant from the daughters of the ex-Protector, Richard Cromwell, both of whom also bequeathed her a legacy; but as her own death did not occur till 1765, she must have long survived her benefactors. Her family consisted of: (1) A son named Russell, who died at sea unmarried; (2) a daughter married to Mr. Saunders, from whom she separated; (3) Elizabeth, who introduces us to the

Family of Addison.

Elizabeth D'Aye, by her marriage, in 1762, with Mr. Thomas Addison, of Soham, became the mother of

I. Mary, died in childhood.

II. Elizabeth, the wife of John Hill; left three sons —John, William, and Eden.

III. Mary Russell, born 1764; became the wife of Mr. Robert Sunman, and died at Lambeth in 1800, having had Mary Addison, who died in youth, and Robert, born in 1786.

IV. and V. Russell and Thomas, twins, born 1767. Thomas died in infancy.

VI. and VII. Frances and William; both died in infancy.

Russell, the only surviving son of this family, died at the age of twenty-five in 1792. His wife Anne outlived him fifty-four years, dying in 1846, at the age of eighty-five. By her he left one son,

William, a surgeon of Soham, where he practised laboriously for more than half a century, being held in great esteem by rich and poor. Beyond this, his life may be described as uneventful, though it is due to him to state that the Cromwell monument, forming so striking an object in Soham Churchyard, and displaying the descent of the Addisons from Henry, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, downwards, is the expression of his hereditary homage. It has been said that the career of his great progenitor was not often made by Mr. Addison the prominent subject of remark, yet the writer of this book well remembers the flashing up of the old fire at an interview held with him many years back, when the old gentleman modestly hinted that the Protector's facial lineaments were not yet obliterated in his descendants. Many will say that his son Thomas, the Ely solicitor, illustrates the fond belief even more than the father did. Mr. Addison died in 1868, having married Anne, daughter of Thomas Fox, of the Newlands, in Curdworth, co. Warwick, farmer, by whom he had three children.

I. Thomas Russell, born 1828, a solicitor practising in Ely.

II. William Oliver Cromwell, born 1832, a solicitor practising at Brierley Hill, co. Stafford, married Charlotte, daughter of Charles Woolverton, of Great Yarmouth, Esq., and has issue: (1) Charles William, 1866; (2) Charlotte Barnby, 1869; (3) Frank, 1870; (4) Edith Maud, 1871.

III. Henrietta Fox, married, 1859, to George H. Rust, son of the late Rev. E. Rust D'Eye, of Abbott's Hall, Stowmarket. His children are eleven in number, viz.: (1) Henrietta Fanny, 1862; (2) George

Edgar, 1863; (3) Agnes Elizabeth, 1864; (4) Isabel, 1866; (5) Jane Louisa, 1868; (6) Henry, 1869; (7) Katharine Alice, 1870; (8) Evelyn, 1872; (9) Anne Georgina, 1874; (10) Mabel, 1875; (11) Emily, 1877.

Issue of Margaret, sixth daughter of William and Elizabeth Russell of Fordham.

She became the wife of Mr. Edward Peachey, and had an only daughter, Elizabeth, whose husband bore the name of Richard Peachey, but was not related to her father's family. By the will of her uncle, Martin Wilkins, who left his real estate to his wife Sarah, some of the lands in Horsecroft and the Great Fen were to descend in reversion to Elizabeth, daughter of Edward and Margaret Peachey, besides a bequest of £500 and an annuity of £15 till she attained the age of twenty-one. By a codicil to his will, in 1749, the £500 is revoked, she being then the wife of Richard Peachey. This marriage produced three children, viz.:

I. Richard, who died unmarried at the age of twenty.

II. William, who in 1780 was of Cambridge University.

III. Elizabeth, wife of Rev. Mr. Ellis, of Milborne, Cambs., and the mother of: (1) Thomas, a solicitor; (2) William, a surgeon; (3) Elizabeth, died unmarried; (4) a daughter married to Mr. Burbage, practising in Leicestershire.

MAJOR HENRY CROMWELL.

Dismissing the families descended from the daughters of Henry, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, we now revert to his son, Major Henry Cromwell, the only one who carried

on the name. The politics and religious faith of this gentleman may be gathered from the fact of his marrying a young lady who only the year before had played a more conspicuous part than any other of her sex as intercessor for the victims of Jeffreys' "Bloody Assizes." This was Hannah, the daughter of Benjamin Hewling and granddaughter of William Kyffin, two names conspicuous among the Nonconformists of that period, and among the adherents of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth. Her interviews with Churchill and with King James II. in behalf of her brothers, Benjamin and William Hewling, are matters of general history.

She was beyond all doubt a courageous and energetic woman. Nothing short of this conviction would have secured the notice and regard of her Tory aunt, Lady Fauconberg, who was greatly disconcerted at the depressed condition of so many of her relatives. After considerable solicitation, Lady Fauconberg was induced to push her nephew's fortunes in the army, and here we may suitably quote one of her letters as a sample of her style of mind and of her bearing towards her niece Hannah.

"*Lady Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell, of Spinney Abbey. To be left with the postmaster of Newmarket, Cambridgeshire.*

29 January [1693?].

"Dear Nephew,

"This comes to congratulate with you after your great fright for your excellent wife, for her safe recovery. And I hope, although she has lost her little one, God will bless you both with more. I am very glad to find by my cousin Hewling you design shortly for London, where I hope to see you both, and give thanks for your kind present, which came very safe to my hands. And pray tell my good niece that her good housewifery is both seen and tasted in it, and that it was as good as ever was

eaten. And I must not omit telling you that my lord as well as self returns thanks, and charges me to assure you both of his humble service. All friends here are, I bless God, very well, and present you both with their service. And I am, to my dear niece and yourself, a most affectionate aunt and servant.

"M. Fauconberg."

Another fragment of hers, dated 1689, thus refers to her efforts in Major Henry's behalf:

"Dear Nephew,

"I received yours, which this comes in answer to. My lord was on Thursday at Hampton Court, where he spake to the King [William III.] again as for your concerns, and your cousin's [Oliver, son of Richard]. But all the answer he could get was that he wanted money, and at present did not think of raising any more men,—which for your sakes I am concerned for. . . ."

He parted with Spinney Abbey under stress of pecuniary difficulties, and probably lived thereafter an unsettled life in the neighbourhood of London.

It was principally by the influence of the Duke of Ormond that Mr. Cromwell's promotion in the army was at last brought about, "in acknowledgment," as his Grace always declared, "of the great service and benefit which his family had received from Henry Cromwell while Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland." Mr. Cromwell's military status at the time of his death was that of Major of foot in Fielding's Regiment. He was cut off by fever at Lisbon while serving under Lord Galway in the war against Spain in Queen Anne's reign, in 1711, being then in his fifty-fourth year. His widow, who survived him twenty-one years, appears to have resided in or near London, for her burial took place in Bunhill Fields. The portraits of

herself and of her husband—the latter being represented as a very handsome man—are still extant, being part of the Brantingsay Collection.

Issue of Major Henry Cromwell and Hannah Hewling.

I. Oliver, born at Spinney Abbey in 1687; died at Gray's Inn in London at the age of sixteen. This was the fourth Oliver Cromwell who by celibacy or premature death failed to carry on the first Protector's name.

II. Benjamin Hewling, born at Spinney Abbey in 1689; died at York in 1694.

III. Henry, born at Spinney Abbey in 1692; died in infancy.

IV. William, generally known as "Mr. Cromwell of Kirby Street," was born in the parish of Cripplegate, in London, in 1693. Being bred to the law, he passed a considerable portion of his life in Gray's Inn chambers, and it was not till he reached the age of fifty-seven that he married Mary, the daughter of William Sherwill of London, merchant, and the wealthy widow of Thomas Westby, of Linton, Cambs., Esq., consequent on which event he changed his abode to Bocking, in Essex. The lady herself was sixty years of age at the time of this her second marriage, and in the course of two years after the removal to Bocking she died, and Mr. Cromwell thereupon returned to London, and spent the remainder of his days in Kirby Street, Hatton Garden, where his own death occurred in 1772, at the age of seventy-nine. Husband and wife both lie in the family vault in Bunhill Fields. Mrs. Cromwell shortly before her second marriage had, in conjunction with Mrs. Bromsale, built and endowed at Hoxton the row of ten houses long known as "the old maids' almshouses," though, in fact, widows as well as single women were embraced in the charity, the only stipulation being that they were Protestant Dissenters. She thoroughly sympathized in the outspoken Noncon-

formity which distinguished her husband's confession of faith, who for fifty years was a member, and for nearly thirty years a deacon, of the church meeting at Haberdashers' Hall; and there his funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Thomas Gibbons. "He appeared," says the Doctor, "to be a Christian indeed; not only by abstaining from what was gross and scandalous, profane and ungodly, but by a spirituality of temper, and by attention to inward religion and the pulse of his soul towards God; and, indeed, his sentiments and conduct manifested a happy union of experimental and practical godliness. He met, and no wonder in so long a pilgrimage, very heavy afflictions, but never did I hear him murmur or repine, though I am persuaded he was not without quick and keen sensations. . . . He might have had genteel provision made for him in life beyond what Providence had otherwise given him, if he could have qualified as a member of the Church of England; but he chose rather to preserve his conscience inviolate, and to remain a Nonconformist, than advance himself in the world and depart from what appeared to him the line of duty."

Mr. Hewling Luson, a son of Hannah's younger sister, bears a corresponding testimony, speaking of him as "the late Mr. Cromwell of Kirby Street, my near relation, and a most benevolent humble honest man." The journal of Thomas Hollis, the virtuoso, chronicles under date 1762 an interview with "that worthy old gentleman Mr. William Cromwell, the great-grandson of the Protector," by whom he is then introduced to two nieces, Miss Elizabeth and Miss Letitia Cromwell, of Hampstead. The portrait-gallery of these ladies, and their museum of family relics, are then inspected, disclosing a variety of heirlooms, which Mr. Hollis then describes, but which must be left at present till the Brantingsay gallery and other collections of Cromwellian relics claim a final notice.

Mr. Cromwell was on friendly terms with Henry Cromwell the poet, so well known by his published correspondence with Alexander Pope; and though the family relationship between these two gentlemen was somewhat remote, yet, as they both derived from the knight of Hinchinbrook, they constantly maintained the form of calling one another "cousin." One of William Cromwell's early reminiscences was his having dined at Westminster, when a youth, with his great-uncle, Richard, the ex-Protector. There were present on that occasion, besides himself, Jerry White, the chaplain, and William Penn, the Quaker-founder of Pennsylvania. Mr. Cromwell rendered valuable aid to the compilers of "Thurloe's State Papers" by contributing a large collection of family documents, which had come down to him from the original owners, and which are duly notified in the margin of that work.

V. Richard, fifth son of Major Henry Cromwell and Hannah Hewling, was born at Hackney in 1695, and became an eminent attorney and solicitor in Chancery. In 1723, on his great-grandfather's auspicious day—September 3—he married Sarah, the daughter of Ebenezer Gatton, of Southwark, who was also the niece, and eventually one of the co-heiresses, of Sir Robert Thornhill, a wealthy attorney of Red Lion Square. The ceremony was performed by Dr. Edmund Gibson, the Lord Bishop of London aforesaid, and the place selected was the chapel connected with the banqueting-house in the palace of Whitehall. Bishop Gibson, whose scholarship was of the most varied kind—linguistic, antiquarian, and forensic—was, moreover, what is commonly understood as a liberal-minded Churchman; while in his character of an official censor he poured through the press an unceasing stream of pamphlets and charges, with a view to the reformation of manners, and by his hostility to Court masquerades provoked the enmity of King George II.

Perhaps his admiration for Oliver was an additional stimulus to the royal displeasure.

Mr. Richard Cromwell, after his marriage, continued to reside in London as his place of business, but eventually removed to Hampstead, where he died in 1759, and was buried in the family vault in Bunhill Fields. He had previously erected there an "altar-monument" to receive family inscriptions; but this relic, like so many others around it, fell a prey to neglect, and the inscriptions are now almost obliterated, excepting the names of his brother William and wife. It has recently received at its foot the words, deeply chiselled, "RICHARD CROMWELL, HIS VAULT. Restored by the Corporation of London." It must be with reference to this gentlemen that the following letter was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1777:

"MR. URBAN,

"In order to render your former, as well as later, accounts of Cromwell's family as perfect as possible, I must observe that there was a Mr. Cromwell, an attorney by profession, with whom I frequently conversed, and who was well known to the old frequenters of Wills' coffee-house, near Lincoln's Inn Gate. I do not know in what degree of consanguinity he stood to Oliver, but that he was a descendant of his family none who saw him could doubt, for he was very like the best pictures of Oliver himself. He was respected, too, as an honest man; but he seemed to have only the external marks of his great predecessor. I think about the time 'I missed him at the accustomed tree' was near twenty years ago, and he then appeared to be about seventy years of age.

"P. T."

A subsequent correspondent conjectured that this might have been Henry, the sixth child of Hannah Hewling;

but Henry's occupation was not that of the law, nor do the dates fit so well as with Richard. Mr. Richard Cromwell had two sons and four daughters:

I. Robert, born at Bartlett's Buildings. This gentleman inherited, in right of his mother, Sarah Gatton, a moiety of the manor of Cheshunt Park or Brantingsay aforesaid; but dying unmarried in 1762, at the age of thirty-seven, the said moiety went to his sisters; and the other moiety also came to them eventually through the decease *s.p.* of their cousin Peter Hynde, only son and heir of Eleanor Gatton.

II. Oliver, died in infancy.

III. Elizabeth, died at Hampstead in 1792.

IV. Anne, died at Berkhampstead in 1777.

V. Eleanor, died in infancy.

VI. Letitia, died at Hampstead, 1789.

The survivors of these ladies, namely, Elizabeth and Letitia, on inheriting their brother Robert's estate, quitted Berkhampstead, and reoccupied the paternal mansion at Hampstead in Middlesex. Among the personal property which in like manner descended to them, they came into possession of a complete museum of historical relics, including a series of family portraits, dating from the sixteenth century downwards, all which subsequently found a fitting receptacle at Cheshunt. Elizabeth's death is thus recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1792:

"At Hampstead, Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, eldest daughter and last surviving child of Mr. Richard Cromwell, grandson of Henry, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. She has left the bulk of her fortune to Mr. Oliver Cromwell, attorney, clerk of the Million Bank; £500 to the children of Mr. Field of Newington, late an apothecary of Newgate Street, who married her cousin, her uncle Thomas's daughter; and a handsome legacy to Mrs. Moreland, relict of Richard Hynde, Esq., whose mother was her maternal aunt, and

who with her brother jointly possessed Cheshunt Park, the moiety of which on his death devolved to them, subject to his widow's jointure."

VI. HENRY, sixth son of Major Henry Cromwell and Hannah Hewling, born 1698; was for some time in partnership with his brother Thomas as a wholesale provision merchant, though he subsequently held a post in the Excise Office. He died unmarried in 1769, and was buried in Bunhill Fields, in the vault of his brother Thomas. The inscriptions on this tomb, like those on Richard's, are now also defaced, but the name HENRY CROMWELL has been recently cut in strong relief, and the following words: "Discovered seven feet beneath the surface, and restored by the Corporation of London, 1869." The ruin which some few years ago had, with increasing rapidity, been overspreading the memorials of Bunhill Fields through overcrowding, was happily brought to an end when all future interments were forbidden. Amongst many others, one of the Cromwell monuments, and also that of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and Lady Hartopp, had gone quite out of sight, although both of them, especially that of Fleetwood, were capacious structures.

VII. THOMAS, the only one of the eight sons of Major Henry Cromwell and Hannah Hewling whose descendants survive, of whom presently (p. 61).

VIII. OLIVER, born in Gray's Inn in London, in 1704, just after the death of his eldest brother Oliver, and therefore made to succeed him in name. He, like his father, served in the British Army, and held an ensigncy in an Irish regiment; but disliking the situation, he resigned his commission, and passed the rest of his life in privacy, dying unmarried in 1748.

IX. MARY, born at Newington Green in 1691; died unmarried in 1731; buried in Bunhill Fields.

X. HANNAH, born at Hackney in 1697; died unmarried in 1732.

VII. Thomas, seventh son of Major Henry Cromwell and Hannah Hewling, born at Hackney in 1699; became, in partnership with his brother Henry, a wholesale provision merchant and sugar-refiner, on Snowhill. On quitting business he retired to Bridgwater Square, dying in 1748 (or 1752?), and was buried in Bunhill Fields. He was twice married; first to Frances, daughter of John Tidman of London, merchant; and secondly to Mary, daughter of Nicholas Skinner of London, merchant, of whom hereafter. The issue of the first marriage were:

Oliver, Henry, Thomas, and Elizabeth, who all died young or unmarried; and Anne, who in 1753 was married at Edmonton to John Field, an apothecary, at that time of Newgate Street, but afterwards of Stoke Newington, of whom hereafter.

Mr. Thomas Cromwell by his second wife, Mary Skinner, had:

I. Oliver, his heir, of whom hereafter.

II. Thomas, who in 1771 or 1773 died in the East India Company's service, just after obtaining a lieutenancy.

III., IV., V., VI. Richard, Elizabeth, and Hannah Hewling, who all died young; and Susanna, who for many years lived with her widowed mother in Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, subsequently at Ponders End. Leaving there after her mother's death, she occupied a cottage at Flamstead End in her brother Oliver's parish, and is supposed to have died there unmarried in 1834, but to have been buried in Bunhill Fields.

As for the widowed mother herself, she survived her husband more than sixty years, reaching at last the patriarchal age of one hundred and four; in fact, she was nearly one hundred and five. About the year 1783,

being then seventy-four years of age, she quitted London in company with her daughter Susanna, and took up her final residence at Ponders End in the house of her deceased aunt, Lady Collett, who had long been a principal supporter of the Nonconformist interest in that village.

Mrs. Cromwell's communion with her new friends as a church-member was considerably hindered by her loss of hearing, but she found a partial resource in the habitual record of her feelings in the form of a diary which must have covered a vast space of time. This chronicle of her hidden life was destroyed, in fulfilment no doubt of her own wishes; but a fragment or two from its earlier pages have been rescued, from the tenor of which we may gather that the successive loss of her husband and children had been felt by her as a very sore affliction. Referring to the death of her daughter Elizabeth, above mentioned, who died at the age of thirteen, she makes the following reflection: "My God has seen fit in His infinite wisdom to remove another dear creature-comfort, a first-born; one whom His grace made to differ, whose early piety appeared in her fear of offending God, her love to every duty of religion, her strict regard to truth, always dutiful, and conscientiously careful against sin. Her life was short, but well improved: she made haste and delayed not to keep the commandments of the Lord. Could I follow my dear delights no farther than the grave, I must sink under my afflictions—to see my comforts dropping off like leaves in autumn, wave after wave rolling over me, and leaving me a lonely survivor. But religion teaches me to converse with things above, leads me to see where real and lasting joys are to be found, and calls me to recollect my covenant-engagements. I then resolved to take up my cross." On the death of her husband, in October, 1752, she had written, ". . . . Ere long my change will come. I think I am as weary of sin as of sorrow, though

Death has been my worst enemy. May his next visit be in mercy, and may every wave of affliction leave me nearer the heavenly shore. Afflictions have drunk up my spirits. Thine arrows stick fast in me, and Thine hand presseth me sore. Therefore is my spirit overwhelmed within me; my heart within me is desolate. Unless Thy law had been my delight I should have perished in my affliction." She had, however, after her retreat to Ponders End, an abiding consolation in the character and creditable career of her son Oliver, who, residing in the neighbouring parish of Cheshunt, often came over to see her, and was able before she died to invoke her blessing on seven of his own grandchildren. That he also took an interest in the religious community to which his mother was attached is evidenced by the appearance of his name in a subscription list preserved in the records of that church for enlarging the building in 1815, towards which object "Oliver Cromwell" gives ten guineas, and "Susannah Cromwell" five guineas.

As might have been expected, Mrs. Cromwell's decease at so advanced an age was a very gradual process. Dimness of sight, so far as to preclude the faculty of reading, had been added to her other infirmities, so that, shut out from the external world, the attitude of her soul expressed itself in a constant desire to depart, and her attendants on entering her chamber usually found her on her knees. January 29, 1813, saw the close of her long pilgrimage; and her surviving children, Oliver and Susannah, selected as an appropriate motto for her funeral sermon the dying song of the Apostle Paul, "I have fought the good fight," etc., which sermon, entitled "The Triumph of Faith," was accordingly delivered by John Knight, the then minister of Ponders End Chapel. Her portrait, taken shortly before her death, is in the hands of her descendants, the Prescott family. Mrs. Cromwell, as also her daughter Susanna, who survived her some years, are believed to

have been both buried in Bunhill Fields. We have now to treat of her only surviving son,

OLIVER CROMWELL OF CHESHUNT.

Oliver Cromwell, Esq., born in 1742, commenced life as a solicitor. He practised for many years as a solicitor in Essex Street, Strand, and was also clerk to St. Thomas's Hospital. But on inheriting the Cheshunt estate under the will of his cousins Elizabeth and Letitia, he adopted Brantingsay as his habitual residence.* On August 8, 1771, Mr. Cromwell espoused Mary, daughter and co-heir of Morgan Morse, Esq., and had two sons and a daughter. The first child died in infancy. The birth of the second, named Oliver, is thus recorded in the *Annual Register* for 1782: "Birth,—The lady of Oliver Cromwell, Esq., of a son and heir, at his house in Nicholas Lane. This child is the only male heir of the Cromwell family in a lineal descent from the memorable Protector of that name." But little Oliver, alas! like so many of his predecessors, once more disappointed the hopes of his friends. He lived but three years; and now the only surviving child was a daughter, Elizabeth Oliveria, born in 1777, and married in 1801 to Thomas Artemidorus Russell, Esq.

Mr. Cromwell of Cheshunt wished his daughter to carry on his name, in accordance with the course usually pursued in such cases, by her husband's adopting the surname and arms of Cromwell, either in addition to, or in exchange for, those of Russell. Such a procedure is technically said to be "by royal permission." The issue of the affair is thus recorded by Mr. Burke, the herald: "Mr. Cromwell wishing to perpetuate the name of his great ancestor,

* This estate is not to be confounded with Theobald's Park, which was never in the possession of the Cromwell family. Theobald's Park and the Manor of Cheshunt belonged to the Prescott family, while Cheshunt or Brantingsay Park and Manor at Theobald's belonged to the Cromwell party. The name was formerly spelt Brantingshaye.

applied, it is said, in the usual quarter for permission that his son-in-law should assume the surname of Cromwell; when, to his astonishment, considering that such requests are usually granted on the payment of certain fees as a matter of course, the permission was refused. Such a course of proceeding is too contemptible for comment."* The credit of the refusal has been variously ascribed to the old King, to the Prince Regent, and to William IV. Sir Robert Heron, writing in 1821, makes mention of it thus: "Within the last two or three years died the last male direct descendant of Oliver Cromwell. He was well known to my father and to Sir Abraham Hume, who lived near him. They represented him as a worthy man of mild manners, much resembling in character his immediate ancestor, Henry, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Early in life his pecuniary circumstances were narrowed, but latterly he possessed a comfortable income. He was desirous of leaving his name to his son-in-law Mr. Russell, and applied for his Majesty's permission that Russell should assume it; but the old King positively refused it, always saying, 'No, no—no more Cromwells'" (Sir Robert Heron's Notes). Another version of the affair is, that Mr. Cromwell, becoming apprehensive that the change of name might, after all, prove a hindrance rather than otherwise to his grandchildren's advance in life, allowed the matter to remain in abeyance; but that the scheme was revived by another member of the family in a memorial addressed to William IV., and that it was this King, and not George III., who uttered the energetic veto above recorded.

Mr. Cromwell, to whom we are indebted for the "Memoirs of the Protector Oliver Cromwell and of his Two Sons, Richard and Henry," died on May 31, 1821, at the age of seventy-nine. His excellent wife, whose charitable deeds were long remembered in the neighbour-

* "History of the Commoners," vol. i., p. 433.

hood, lived on to her eighty-seventh year. On Sundays she was in the habit of attending the chapel of the neighbouring college (founded by Lady Huntingdon), in which she was joined by her husband and by her sister-in-law, Miss Susanna Cromwell.

The family monument at Cheshunt Church records only the following names :

Oliver Cromwell, Esq., 1821, aged seventy-nine.
Mary Cromwell, his wife, 1831, eighty-seven.
Lieutenant-General Armstrong, his son-in-law, sixty-three.
Thomas Artemidorus Russell, Esq., 1858, eighty-three.
Eliza Oliveria, his wife, 1849, seventy-two.
Artemidorus Cromwell Russell, 1830, twenty-seven.
Avarilla Aphra, his wife, 1827, twenty-one.
John Russell, Esq., 1830, eighty-two.
Eliza, wife of John Henry Cromwell Russell, 1876, seventy.

Family of Russell, of Cheshunt Park.

Elizabeth Oliveria Cromwell, only surviving child of Oliver Cromwell, of Cheshunt, was born in 1777, married in 1801 to Thomas Artemidorus Russell, of Thurston, co. Hereford, Esq. She died in 1849 at the age of seventy-two, and in her death the English nation had to contemplate the final extinction of the Protector's household inheriting the name of Cromwell by blood. To the present writer, his personal intercourse with the venerable lady is the most interesting fact connected with the labours of this family history. To watch her passing from portrait to portrait through the Brantingsay gallery, and hear her with tremulous voice dwelling on the virtues of each successive representative of the house from the Protector's parents down to her own father, was to become

for awhile the passive recipient of very pleasant sensations —sensations, it may be, too thronging for description, too complex for analysis. By her husband she left nine children:

I. Elizabeth Oliveria, born 1802; married 1823 to Frederick Joseph, son of George Frederick Prescott, of Theobalds, Herts, Esq. By her husband, formerly of the War Office, and who died in 1888, aged ninety-one, she became the mother of ten children:

I. Frederick George, born 1824; died in infancy.

II. Emma Elizabeth, born 1826; married, 1853, to Herbert Calthorpe, son of Lieutenant-General William Gardner, R.A., and by him (who died 1857) had, surviving issue, Herbert Prescott, born 1854, and Emma Louisa, born 1857.

III. George Frederick, Vicar of St. Michael's, Paddington, M.A. Cantab., born 1827; married, 1863, to Sarah, daughter of John Horsley, Esq., Madras Civil Service, and had: Mary, 1864; Edward, 1866; Ernest, 1867; Mildred, 1871.

IV. Charles Andrew, banker and M.A. Cantab., born 1829; married, 1864, to Emma Catharine, daughter of William Harrison, Esq., of Westbourne Terrace, by whom he had four children: Charlotte Cromwell, 1865; Charles Cave Cromwell, 1867, died in childhood; Oliveria Cromwell, 1872; Kenneth Loder Cromwell, 1874.

V. Edward Barker, Captain 33rd Regiment (Wellington's), wounded in the Crimea. Medal and clasps. Married, 1857, to Sophia Victoria, daughter of William Cox, of Gloucester Crescent, Esq., and has a son, Edward Frederick William, born 1858.

VI. Lucy Esther, born 1833.

VII. Augusta Sophia, born 1835; married, 1873, to Robert Burn, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

VIII. Henry Warner, a banker, born 1837.

IX. Edgar Grote, of the Stock Exchange, and B.A. Oxon., born 1839; married, 1865, to Jane Katharine, daughter of Edgar Barker, Esq., of Oxford Square, and had seven children: Henry Frederick, 1866; Edward Barker, 1867; Edgar Evelyn, 1869; Margaret Oliveria, died in infancy, 1871; Herbert, 1872; Nelly Margaret, 1875; Isabel Katharine, 1878.

X. Oliveria Louisa, born 1842.

II. Artemidorus Cromwell, born 1803; died 1830, having married Avarilla Aphra Armstrong, by whom (who died 1827) he had one daughter, Avarilla Oliveria Cromwell, born 1826; married, 1849, to Rev. Paul Bush, of South Luffenham, now [1890] Rector of Duloe, near Liskeard; died November 25, 1895. By her husband she had issue:

I. Thomas Cromwell, B.A. Oxon, born 1851, Vicar of Camel Queen, Bath.

II. Elizabeth Oliveria, 1852.

III. James Graham, in India, 1854.

IV. Paul Warner, Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, born 1855.

V. Charles Cromwell, in India, born 1857.

VI. Charlotte Mary Avarilla, 1858.

VII. Beatrice Maud, 1860.

VIII. Herbert Cromwell, 1861.

IX. Ethel Julia, 1863.

X. Gertrude Harriet Cromwell, 1865.

XI. Mabel Ottley, 1868.

III. Mary Esther, born 1805; married, 1832, to General George Andrew Armstrong, of Hereford, Inspector-General of the Hereford Volunteers. She married secondly, in 1836, Thomas Huddlestone, Esq.

IV. John Henry Cromwell, of Sittingbourne, born 1806; married, 1832, to Eliza, only daughter of Maurice

Lievesley, Esq., and had one daughter: Eliza Clementina Frances Cromwell, born 1835.

V. Thomas Artemidorus Cromwell, born 1808; died in infancy.

VI. Thomas Artemidorus, born 1810; married 1862; died 1863.

VII. Letitia Cromwell, born 1812; married, 1847, to Frederick Whitfield, of 4, Vane Street, Bath, M.D., and had two daughters: Amy, 1848, and Elizabeth (?). Mrs. Whitfield died in 1863.

VIII. Charles William Cromwell, born 1814; died 1859.

IX. Emma Bridget, born 1816; married, 1834, to Captain Richard Warner, 5th Foot, a descendant of Sir Thomas Warner, who, as one of the early explorers of Antigua, obtained a grant of land there from James I., who also presented him with the celebrated ring which Queen Elizabeth had given to Essex. This gem, we are informed, belonged originally to Mary, Queen of Scots, and King James's gift of it to Sir Thomas Warner was designed as an especial mark of favour. Since that time it has descended from father to son in the elder branch of the Warner family. Captain Richard Warner died 1863. The issue of the above marriage was as follows:

I. Ashton Cromwell, born 1835. He served throughout the Indian Mutiny campaign in 1857-58, received a medal with clasps for "Defence of Lucknow" and "Lucknow," and a brevet majority; retired from the 20th Hussars in 1868; appointed Chief Constable of Bedfordshire in 1871. Major Warner, married first —1868—Anne Geraldine, only daughter of M. B. Jeffreys, Esq., and by her (who died 1871) had one son, Ashton Darell Cromwell, who died in infancy. He married secondly—1872—Florence Louisa, fourth daughter of the late W. Stapleton Piers, Esq., and grand-daughter of Sir John Bennett Piers, of Trister-

nagh Abbey, co. Westmeath, Bart., and has issue: Bridget Nora Cromwell, 1874; Lionel Ashton Piers, 1875; Marjorie Ellin, 1877; Esther Hastings, 1878.

II. Richard Edward, born 1836; married, 1864, to Mary Jametta Hale, daughter of Major Constantine Yeoman, of Sibron, and had issue: Constance Emma Cromwell, Leonard Ottley, Mary Challoner, Basil Hale, Richard Cromwell, Lawrence Dundas, Wynyard Alexander, Marmaduke.

III. Wynyard Huddleston, named after his uncle, General Wynyard, of the Grenadier Guards, who distinguished himself in the Crimea. He married Jane, daughter of Mr. Bell, of the Civil Service, East India Company.

We now pass to the families deriving from Anne Cromwell (p. 61).

Family of Field.

Anne, only surviving daughter of Thomas Cromwell, of Bridgwater Square, by his first marriage, married, in 1753, at Edmonton, John Field, an apothecary, at that time of Newgate Street, but afterwards of Stoke Newington. There is reason to think that this was a union prompted by cordiality of religious sentiment, the Fields being of a Puritan stock, and Mr. Field himself attached to Stoke Newington society. Mr. Field, whose medical practice was extensive, was the founder, in 1765, of the London Annuity Society, established for the benefit of the widows of its members. This institution, now located at 3, Sergeants' Inn, possesses half-length portraits of himself and of his son Henry, who succeeded him professionally. His living presence, we are told, was a familiar and grateful object to all the dwellers in and about Stoke Newington, who believed his good nature to be inexhaustible, the capacious coach in which he performed the daily journey

into town being apparently at the service of the public, for while his personal friends occupied the interior, some poor neighbour was generally to be seen on the box. The religious coterie of that suburban district, clustering round the household of the ex-General Fleetwood, will be noticed more at large hereafter. Mr. Field's intercourse must have been with their succeeding generation. His own ancestry derived from Cockenhoe, in Herts, where he was born in 1719. His death occurred in 1796, the year before that of his wife. Their children now to be noticed are nine in number:

I. HENRY, an apothecary, born September 29, 1755, rose to high esteem among the brethren of his profession, as testified by the offices which from time to time he filled. In 1807 he was elected apothecary to Christ's Hospital. He was also lecturer and treasurer to the Society of Apothecaries, one of the Board of Health in 1831 for prevention of cholera, the city of London presenting him with a silver centre for his table. He was also for many years treasurer of the London Annuity Society for the benefit of widows of apothecaries, in Chatham Place, Blackfriars, which his father had founded. Among his writings may be mentioned "Memoirs of the Botanick Garden" at Chelsea. He maintained his powers till his eighty-third year, when he died at Woodford, Essex, December 19, 1837, and was buried at Cheshunt. His portrait was painted for the Apothecaries by R. Pickersgill, and for the Annuity Society by Samuel Lane, and an engraving from the latter was so skilfully executed by Charles Turner that the family regard it as a better likeness than the original painting. Mr. Field married, on September 2, 1784, Esther, daughter of E. Barron, of Woolacre House, near Deptford, Esq., and by her (who died January 16, 1834) left six sons and two daughters:

I. Henry Cromwell, born 1785. Succeeded to his father's professional position in Newgate Street, and

became chairman of the Court of Examiners of the Apothecaries' Company. His personal tastes took an artistic turn, and led to his becoming an occasional exhibitor at the Royal Academy. Shortly before his death he was preparing, in co-operation with the chaplain of Charterhouse, a book in illustration of that establishment. It was whilst in the discharge of his duty as resident medical officer there that his death occurred instantaneously in 1840. He was buried in the vault of Charterhouse Chapel. He married his cousin Anne, daughter of Thomas Gwinnel, of whom hereafter.

II. Barron, born October 23, 1786; died *s.p.* April 11, 1846, at his residence at Meadfoot House, Torquay. He entered the Inner Temple 1809, and was called to the Bar on June 23, 1814. He became Advocate-Fiscal at Ceylon, Chief Justice in New South Wales, and finally Chief Justice at Gibraltar. It was at Gibraltar that the late Earl of Beaconsfield, then a young man on his travels, met the Chief Justice in 1830. He characteristically describes the Judge-Advocate as "noisy, obtrusive, jargonic, a true lawyer, ever illustrating the obvious, explaining the evident, and expatiating on the commonplace." Like his brother, he sought and found a solatium in studies less rigid than the law. Dramatic literature became his favourite pursuit. He was an intimate friend of Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt, and Crabb Robinson, and for a time held the post of theatrical critic for the *Times*. He edited some of the issues of the Shakspeare Society, and was meditating a complete collection of Heywood's works with a biography at the time of his own decease. His widow, Jane, daughter of Mr. Carncroft, whom he had married in 1816, died at Wimbledon in 1878, aged eighty-six.

III. Francis John, born 1791; died suddenly, in 1857, at his residence, 88, Chester Place, Regent's Park. He held in the India House the office of Accountant-General, and was the last of that title. He married, 1841, Anne, daughter of Edward Barron, of Northiam, in Sussex. Charles Lamb, in one of his letters to Bernard Barton, while humorously recording his neglect of some of the details of social life, says: "All the time I was at the East India House I never mended a pen. When I write to a great man at the Court end, he opens with surprise upon a naked note such as Whitechapel people interchange, with no sweet degrees of envelope. I never enclosed one bit of paper in another, nor understood the rationale of it. Once only I sealed with borrowed wax, to set Sir Walter Scott a-wondering, signed with the Imperial quartered arms of England, which my friend Field bears in compliment to his descent in the female line from Oliver Cromwell. It must have set his antiquarian curiosity upon watering" (Talfourd's "Life and Letters of Lamb").

IV. Esther, born 1792, resided near her brother, Frederick Field, the Rector of Reepham, in Norfolk, and died 1871.

V. Edmund, born 1799, a Russia merchant of the firm of Brandt and Co., retired to Hastings, where he became active in works of benevolence and in pictorial studies. He died in 1880.

VI. Frederick, born in London July 20, 1801. In 1824 he was elected Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in company with T. B. Macaulay. Among his private pupils was F. D. Maurice. He was Rector, first of Great Saxham, Suffolk, and afterwards, from 1842, of Reepham, Norfolk. He resigned this living in 1863, and removed to Norwich, where he continued to reside till his death, which occurred

on April 19, 1885. His name is inseparably connected with Chrysostom and Origen, and his edition of Origen's "Hexapla" is recognised as the most important contribution to Patristic theology which has appeared for a century.

VII. Marriott, born 1803, emigrated to America, where he was drowned. His taste was for music, but he also produced three poems, entitled "Job," "Ecclesiastes," and the "Story of Esther."

VIII. Maria Letitia, born 1805, has long constituted one of the Field colony at Hastings.

II. Oliver, born 1761, left Worcester for America in 1799, and died at New York in 1835. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Gittings, of Shropshire. Their family when they left England were very young; of these, Oliver died in childhood. Of the survivors, John, Joseph, and Thomas, two of them and the mother paid a visit to England many years ago, but are now [1879], together with their sisters, believed to have all married in America.

III. John, born 1764, commenced business as a Russia merchant, but discovered before long a remarkable aptitude for astronomy and the construction of scientific apparatus. These qualities, combined as they were with a character for high integrity, becoming known to the Government, his services were secured for the Royal Mint, where he held the office of Umpire between the several departments on the precious metals passing between the officers and the Bank of England. Among his mechanical inventions, some of which were adopted in America and France, may be mentioned a counting-machine and an improved system of assay-beams and weights. He died, in 1843, at his residence, Bayswater Hill, in his seventy-ninth year. His portrait, reminding one of Pascal, is in the possession of his son Henry. He married Mary, only

child of Charles Pryer, of Tichfield, Hants, Esq., and by her, who died 1859, had eight children:

I., II., and III. Henry, Charles, and Frederick, who all died young of typhus fever.

IV. Henry William, born 1803. Was for fifty-one years an able servant of the Crown at the Mint, and about seven years ago retired to his estate of Munster Lodge, on the banks of the Thames, near Teddington. He entered the Mint at the age of sixteen, at the time of Lord Maryborough's Mastership, and assisted at the great recoinage, then in progress. The chemical skill which he inherited from his father eventually found fuller scope when, in 1850, he succeeded to the office of Queen's Assay-Master (an ancient appellation subsequently disused). This was also the period of Sir John Herschell's appointment to the Mastership, marking an economical crisis in the history of that establishment, which was long remembered as "the revolution of '51." In the laboratory Mr. Field was ever Sir John's able auxiliary, more especially when it was resolved to establish and apply more incontrovertible tests to the quality of bullion devoted to coinage. The scientific details of Mr. Field's new system of working the assays cannot here be displayed; it must suffice to say they received Herschell's emphatic approbation. A parting message which came from his old friend many years after will form a suitable voucher. "I am suffering," says Sir John, "under an attack of bronchitis which has lasted me all the winter, so excessively severe that I can hardly hold the pen, which must excuse the brevity of this, and being now in my eightieth year, I can hope for no relief. I shall retain, however, to the last a pleasing recollection of aid and support I received from you during the period of my administration of the Mint. And I know you will

believe me ever, my dear sir, yours most truly, J. F. W. HERSCHELL."—Mr. Field, in 1840, married Anna, daughter of T. Mills, of Coval Hall, Chelmsford, and Vicar of Hellions-Bumpstead, Essex, and by her, who died in 1868, had:

I. Mary Hester Katherine, born 1841; married, 1864, to Arthur Evershed, of Ampthill, M.D., and has issue seven children.

II. Katharine Anne Russell, born 1842; married, 1866, to William Henry Snelling of the Admiralty, of Ashton Lodge, Selhurst, Esq., and has issue.

III. Harriet Elizabeth Pryer, born 1843.

IV. Frances Anna Ollyffe, born 1847.

V. Henry Cromwell Beckwith, of Trinity College, Cambridge, Curate of St. Jude's, Liverpool; born 1850.

VI. Letitia Eliza, married, 1876, to Ralph Thomas, of Doughty Street, solicitor, and has issue.

VII. Minnie, died 1878.

V. Emma Katharine, born 1809, lived with her widowed mother at Notting Hill, and after her mother's decease removed to Barnes.

VI. Charles Frederick, born 1813; held office in the Admiralty; married, in 1868, Flora Helen, daughter of Charles A. Elderton of the Bengal Medical Staff, and had issue: (1) Charles John Elderton, 1869; (2) Flora Georgiana, 1870; (3) Oliver Cromwell, 1871; (4) Katharine Mary Ida, 1875.

VII. Oliver Cromwell, born 1815, a Commander in the Royal Navy, having much in common with his renowned ancestor; a man of energy, humanity, and prompt action, shown on various occasions in the rescuing of wrecked crews during his several voyages to and from India. His wife died in 1884.

VIII. Samuel Pryer, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Vicar of Sawbridgeworth, born in 1816; died 1878; so devoted to the study of ecclesiastical architecture that he lavished much of his income in restoring the church fabrics successively under his care. By his wife, Jane, daughter of Admiral Sir W. H. Pierson, of Langton, Hants, he had four children: (1) Cyril, in the Royal Marines; (2) Bertha; (3) Oliver, in New Zealand; (4) Maud, died 1885.

IV. William, fourth son of John Field and Anne Cromwell, born 1767; died 1851; of Leam, near Warwick. In accordance with the Calvinistic theology of his parents, he was educated as a Protestant Dissenting minister, first at Daventry and afterwards at Homerton; but adopting Unitarian principles, he was ordained by Dr. Priestley and Mr. Belsham to the pastorate of the ancient Presbyterian congregation of High Street Chapel in Warwick, and with this was combined for twenty-two years the oversight of a similar community at Kenilworth. He early displayed that literary power, both political and polemical, which he was ever afterwards prompt to wield in the advocacy of popular rights, and which resulted in a vast variety of pamphlets belonging chiefly to the period of Lord Grey's first Reform Bill. Other works from his pen are the Life of his friend, Dr. Parr of Hatton, and an "Account of the Town and Castle of Warwick." His activity also resulted in the establishment of a public library, and of the *Warwick Advertiser*. His portrait, painted by Henry Wyatt, and exhibited in 1838, has been well engraved in large quarto by Charles Turner. The Diary of Henry Crabb Robinson gives us a glimpse of the domestic life of this family in 1839. Mr. Robinson had been spending a fortnight with his friends, the Masqueriers, of Leamington, and adds: "This excursion has left several very agreeable recollections. Among them the most prominent was my better acquaintance with the Field family. I

then knew Edwin Field chiefly as the junior partner of Edgar Taylor, who was at that time approaching the end of an honourable and useful life. Mr. and Mrs. Field senior were then living in an old-fashioned country-house between Leamington and Warwick. He had long been the minister at Warwick, and also kept a highly-respectable school. He was known by a Life of Dr. Parr, whose intimate friendship he enjoyed. His wife was also a very superior woman; I had already seen her in London. I heard Mr. Field preach on July 21; his sermon was sound and practical, opposed to metaphysical divinity. He treated it as an idle question (he might have said, a mischievous subtlety), whether works were to be considered as a justifying cause of salvation, or the certain consequence of a genuine faith" (vol. iii., 178). The lady here mentioned was Mary, daughter (by his first wife, Elizabeth North) of William Wilkins, Baptist minister of Bourton-on-the-Water. She was married to Mr. Field in 1803, and died in 1848, having had thirteen children, eleven of whom survived their parents in 1851, namely:

I. Edwin Wilkins, born 1804, an eminent solicitor, practising first in Bedford Row, and afterwards in Lincoln's Inn Fields. His life will be given presently. He married, first, Mary Sharpe, niece of Samuel Rogers, the poet, and had one son named Rogers, after this great-uncle. Mr. Field married, secondly, Letitia, daughter of Robert Kinder of London, Esq., who died in 1890, aged eighty-eight. She became the mother of seven children, namely: (1) Basil, 1834, successor to his father; (2) Allan, 1835, married Miss Phillips, and has five daughters; (3) Walter, 1837, an eminent landscape and genre painter, married Miss Cookson, daughter of W. Strickland Cookson, solicitor, and has seven children; (4) Mary, 1839; (5) Grace, 1841; (6) Susan, 1843; (7) Emily, 1845.

II. Arthur, born 1806, died unmarried about (1845?)

III. John Hampden, born 1807; settled and married in America.

IV. Emma, born 1809; died 1816.

V. Ferdinand Emmans, born 1810; a merchant in Birmingham.

VI. Laura, born 1811; married W. Langmead of Plymouth, and died 1879.

VII. Algernon Sidney, born 1813; a solicitor at Leamington, and clerk of the peace for Warwickshire; married Sarah Martin, of Birmingham, and has issue three sons and two daughters. The two daughters both married, the latter in 1886.

VIII. Alfred, born 1814; merchant in New York, where he married the daughter of another emigrant, viz., Charlotte Errington, whose father, a native of Yarmouth in Suffolk, left England in consequence of failure in business. Miss Errington's mother, named Notcutt, was descended from an old Puritan family long known at Ipswich in Suffolk. Alfred Field had issue one son, named Henry Cromwell, and one daughter, named Rosa.

IX. Caroline, born 1816; married Reginald A. Parker, solicitor, and has seven children.

X. Alice, born 1817.

XI. Lucy, born 1821; died 1822.

XII. Horace, born 1823; architect; married Christina, daughter of Edward White, of Glasgow, and had two children.

XIII. Leonard, born 1824; barrister.

V. Anne, eldest daughter of John Field and Anne Cromwell; born 1756; died 1820, having married in 1787 Thomas Gwinnel, of Worcester, merchant. Mr. Gwinnel, who died in 1818, aged sixty-eight, left five children, namely:

I. Thomas Cromwell, a solicitor at Worcester; died 1835.

II. Anne Sophia; married her cousin, Henry Cromwell Field.

III. Amelia; lived at Hastings with her cousin, Letitia Field.

IV. Diana; married Mr. Roberts, of Worcester.

V. Eliza; married Patrick Johnston, of the firm of Praed, Fane and Johnston, bankers in Fleet Street. Their children are: (1) Patrick, a solicitor (both he and his wife died July, 1884, and were buried at Thames Ditton); (2) Janet Eliza; (3) Henry Cromwell, in Holy Orders (subsequently of 163, Ladbroke Grove Road, and chaplain of Kensal Green Cemetery; he died 1892, aged fifty-seven); (4) Thomas, of Kingston-on-Thames.

VI. Letitia, second daughter of John Field and Anne Cromwell, became the second wife of Rev. William Wilkins, of Bourton-on-the-Water, and had four children, viz.:

I. William, who died young.

II. Letitia; married William Kendall, of Bourton, solicitor, by whom she has six children: Herbert William, Amelia Letitia, Edmund, Agnes, Harriet, Henry.

III. Henry Field, a solicitor at Chipping-Norton; married Miss Spence, of that place.

IV. Harriet, married George Tilsley, a solicitor at Chipping-Norton.

VII., VIII., IX. Elizabeth, Sophia, Mary, three unmarried daughters of John Field and Anne Cromwell. Elizabeth died at Stoke Newington, 1781, aged twenty-two; buried at Cheshunt. Mary, who resided at Worcester, died in 1840.

Life of Edwin Wilkins Field.

If Edwin Field was not a statesman in the popular sense, he was the stimulating agent in bringing about

many reforms for which professed statesmen have reaped the credit. Yet neither was he a law-reformer only; he was a man of unbounded sympathies, and his Cromwellian energy was combined with versatile capacity.

Born at Leam, near Warwick, on October 12, 1804, and educated at his father's school, he was articled, on March 19, 1821, to Taylor and Roscoe, of King's Bench Walk, in the Temple. He was admitted attorney and solicitor in the Michaelmas term, 1825. He joined his fellow-clerk, William Sharpe, to form the firm of Sharpe and Field, in Broad Street, Cheapside, but in 1835 Taylor, who was then alone, took Sharpe and Field into partnership with him. The office of the firm was long in Bedford Row, but was subsequently removed to Lincoln's Inn Fields. "I remember as if it were yesterday," says he in after-life, "my good old father's wistful look as he left me there. That look has stood me in fast stead many a time since." His first action in life was to repay that father the expenses incurred in his outsetting. The father refused, but the pious dexterity of the son contrived to fulfil the intention. This generous impulse was the animus which pervaded all his subsequent schemes. His object was to make the practice of the law square with consciences as upright and scrupulous as his own. To become a law-reformer was therefore with him a moral necessity, and to see those reforms carried to a triumphant issue was but the fair reward of one who thought it more heroic to abolish abuses than to run away from them. His first essays in the *Legal Observer* had reference to the law respecting marriages abroad between English subjects within the prohibited degrees. This was in 1840; but his grand attack during the same year was directed against the Court of Chancery, and the Six-Clerks and Sworn-Clerks Office in particular. Lords Brougham and Cottenham had begun to clear the ground, but the crisis was not precipitated until Mr. Field led the public voice.

Details cannot be enlarged on here, but the judgment of contemporaries may establish the verdict. Spence, in his "Equity Jurisprudence," says: "To Mr. Field's exertions, enforced by Mr. Pemberton, the Court of Chancery is in great part indebted for the late improvements." John Wainewright, formerly one of the sworn clerks, and now [1879] taxing-master, says in a letter written since Mr. Field's death that his friend was "the first person who practically brought about this change." And Robert Bayley Follett, also a taxing-master, says: "I always considered the abolition of the Six-Clerks Office due to E. W. Field."

The removal of one monster grievance ensures the fall of many parasitical institutions. In 1844 Field was in communication with the Board of Trade on the subject of a winding-up Act for joint-stock companies. The Act of 1848 substantially embodied the proposals contained in a draft Bill laid before the legal adviser of the Board of Trade on April 27, 1846, by Field and his friend Rigge, who had formerly been in his office. His views on the question of legal remuneration were practically embodied in the Act of 1870. Mr. Field had abundance of work before him; but success had now energized his arm and inspired his friends with confidence. After the year 1840 there was scarcely a Royal Commission or Parliamentary Committee on Chancery reform or general legal questions before which he was not called upon to give evidence. Extracts from the list of his published writings may serve as an index to his subsequent services. Thus, in the *Westminster Review*, February, 1843, we have: "Recent and Future Law Reforms," "Judicial Procedure a Single and Inductive Science"; in the *Law Review*, August, 1848, "Comparative Anatomy of Judicial Procedure," reprinted in the *New York Evening Post*. Mr. Field also wrote papers, etc., "On the Right of the Public to form Limited-Liability Partnerships, and on the Theory, Practice, and

Costs of Commercial Charters"; "On the Roots and Evils of the Law"; "Economical Considerations on the Autocracy of the Bar, and on the System of Prescribed Tariffs for Legal Wages." A paper was read by him at Manchester in 1857, entitled "What should a Minister of Justice do?"; one before the Metropolitan and Provincial Law Association, held in London, 1859, on "Legal Education and the Comparative Anatomy of Legal, Medical, and other Professional Education"; he had also some correspondence with C. G. Loring, the eminent American advocate, on the present relations between Great Britain and the United States; and "On the Property of Married Women," published in the *Times*.

Brought up among the English Presbyterians, Mr. Field was not disposed to sit down quietly under the partial legislation which was still enforced against Unitarians under cover of the notorious Lady Hewley case, and accordingly, by the Dissenters' Chapels Bill of 1844, he upset that legislation for ever. This is quickly told, but the struggle while it lasted was arduous, and to many appeared hopeless. Even his constant friend and ally, Crabb Robinson, despaired of attacking entrenched orthodoxy; but a band of resolute men, who for many months sat on the question *de die in diem*, had at length a long conference with the Minister, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Field acting as spokesman. Sir Robert, though a political opponent, promptly undertook to make it a Government measure; while the elaborate historical argument with which Mr. Gladstone swayed the Commons on that occasion was mainly furnished by Mr. Field.

It was Mr. Field's belief that few schemes would more tend to simplify and quicken legal operations than the concentration of all the courts of justice and offices of the law into one building. For thirty years before the passing of the Courts of Justice Building Act of 1865, he had urged the measure; and when at last a Royal Commission

was issued to obtain and approve a plan upon which the new Courts should be built, it was natural that her Majesty should appoint "her trusty and well-beloved Edwin Wilkins Field to be the secretary to the Commission." For his arduous duties in this capacity, extending over three years, embracing a thorough mastery of the details of the vast fabric, preparing instructions for the competing architects, and drawing up elaborate reports, Mr. Field refused all remuneration. But the firm of which he was the head were appointed by the Board of Works solicitors for acquiring the new site; and under his vigorous superintendence a very short time sufficed to clear the ground for an architectural pile which will not be complete without some artistic memorial of the enthusiastic secretary.

He was an ardent lover of Nature, and of the pictorial renderings by which true poetry alone can apprehend her. Much of the interest which, as a member of the Council of University College, he took in that institution, assumed this form, as shown in his co-operating with Henry Crabb Robinson in the formation of the Flaxman Gallery, and the establishment of the Slade School of Art, in all which, as well as in the legislation which from time to time he put into motion for the furtherance of art and its professors, his advice and assistance were spontaneous. "No labour," says he, "that I can ever give on this subject will repay the obligations I am under to art and to artists for a great deal of the pleasure of my life. I reverence art. I look upon it as one of the divinest gifts of our nature. Develop a love of art in every way. It will give you new eyes wherewith to draw in and make part of yourself the very beauty of Nature, and new, undreamt-of capacities for enjoying it. It will assuredly improve and elevate your character." Accustomed as he was to be consulted in matters of taste, it awoke no suspicion when Mr. T. Cobb, one of his former clerks, asked him one day what painter he would recommend

under the following circumstances: A number of clerks in a London office had subscribed to get the portrait of their master executed in the best style, and it was thought they could not have a better adviser than Mr. Field. After a little further explanation he replied: "Watson Gordon is your man." "But, sir," said Cobb, "Sir Watson paints only in Edinburgh, and we doubt whether his sitter would consent to travel so far." "Then," rejoined Mr. Field, "tell the young men to drag him there. He ought to be proud of such a request." In due time Mr. Field was himself requested to go to Edinburgh and sit to Sir Watson Gordon for a painting to be presented to Mrs. Field. "Congratulate me," he wrote to Crabb Robinson. "A hundred of my old clerks have subscribed to have my portrait painted—men I have tyrannized over—bullied—taken the praise from, which they really had earned—who knew every bit of humbug in me—no sense of favours to come. Regard from such a body is worth having." The picture is now at the family residence at Squire's Mount, Hampstead, with the names of the hundred subscribers displayed on the frame. Another characteristic likeness is preserved in a picture painted by his son Walter—a river scene, in which Mr. Field, together with part of his family, is represented in the enjoyment of one of his favourite pursuits—that of boating on the Thames. It has been said of him that "not Izaac Walton loved his favourite river more than Mr. Field loved the Thames." Like the painter Turner, he descried in its varied aspects suggestive material for boundless poetry; and in order fully to drink in its influences, he took for holiday purposes a lease of the Mill House, Cleve, near Goring. Yet the Thames became the disastrous scene of his death. On July 30, 1871, the boat in which he was sailing with two of his clerks was upset by a gale of wind. One of the party, named Ellwood, as well as Mr. Field himself, was a swimmer; the third who

could not swim, was the sole survivor. And all that this survivor could recollect about the affair was that he had at first gone down, but afterwards found himself supported by his two friends, who held on to the boat, and were making for the shore; that eventually Mr. Ellwood sank, and soon afterwards Mr. Field also. Five days later, at the Highgate Cemetery, Edwin Field was laid in a vault next to that in which sleeps his friend Henry Crabb Robinson. His age was sixty-seven. The above facts are derived from "A Memorial" drawn up by his friend Thomas Sadler, Ph.D., and published by Macmillan in 1872, abounding with anecdotes and details of a highly interesting nature, but far too copious for adoption in this place. It may also be here stated that notices of the various members of the Field family will be found scattered up and down the biographies of Crabb Robinson, Serjeant Talfourd, and Charles Lamb.

CHAPTER VII.

JAMES, FIFTH SON OF THE PROTECTOR.

JAMES, named after his maternal grandfather, Sir James Bourchier; was baptized January 8, 1632, at St. John's Church in Huntingdon, where also he was buried on the following day.

CHAPTER VIII.

BRIDGET, ELDEST DAUGHTER OF THE PROTECTOR.

BAPTIZED at St. John's Church, Huntingdon, August 5, 1624, Bridget was married first to Henry Ireton in 1646, and secondly to Charles Fleetwood, probably in the early part of 1652. Her marriage with Ireton took place just before the completion of the first Civil War, while Fairfax was investing the city of Oxford; and at Holton St. Bartholomew, some six miles distant from the walls, and conjectured to have been the General's headquarters, the marriage is thus chronicled in the parish register: "15 June, 1646. Henry Ireton, Commissary-General to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Bridget, daughter to Oliver Cromwell, Lieutenant-General of the Horse to the said Sir Thomas Fairfax, were married by Mr. Dell in the Lady Whorwood's house in Holton. Alban Eales, rector." Dell was Fairfax's chaplain. The ancient manor-house, which was surrounded by a moat, was taken down in 1804, and the present mansion built upon its site.

Henry Ireton, descended from a good family, seated at Attenborough, co. Nottingham, born 1611, was educated at Oxford (Trinity College) and the Middle Temple. He was brought up to the law, but when the civil contests

commenced, his Puritan and patriotic principles found more congenial play in the Parliament's army, where the inflexible character of his mind acted as a buttress and stimulant even to that of Cromwell. Strong sympathies early drew the men together, and during the principal passages of the war they acted in concert. After the King's death Ireton accompanied his father-in-law to Ireland, and being left by him there in the capacity of Lord-Deputy, he completed the subjugation of the natives with rare vigour and ability. Having crowned his career with the capture of Limerick in 1651, he was seized with a pestilential disease, and died there, in the presence of his brother-in-law, Henry Cromwell, sincerely lamented by the Republicans, who revered him as a soldier, a statesman, and a saint. He received a public funeral in Westminster Abbey, Oliver Cromwell walking as chief mourner, attended by several members of Parliament. The House passed a Bill for settling an estate of £2,000 per annum on the widow and children, a gift which had, in fact, been offered a few months previously to Ireton himself, but which he had nobly refused, urging that the Parliament had many just debts which he desired they would pay before they made any such presents. For himself, he had no need of their land, and would be far better pleased to see them doing the service of the nation than so liberal in disposing of the public treasure. "And truly," adds his friend Ludlow, "I believe he was in earnest, for as he was always careful to husband those things that belonged to the State to the best advantage, so was he most liberal in employing his own purse and person in the public service" (Ludlow's "Memoirs," i. 286).

At the Restoration of Charles II., Ireton's body, like that of his father-in-law and of Bradshaw, was taken from its tomb in Westminster Abbey and hung on the Tyburn gallows. The sermon preached at his funeral in Westminster Abbey by Dr. John Owen, February 6, 1652, con-

tains a fitting eulogium of him, and with the recital of the dedication of that performance to Henry Cromwell his character may be dismissed. The text was from Daniel xii. 13: "But go thou thy way till the end be, for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days."

(Slightly Abridged.)

"*To the Honourable and my very worthy friend, Colonel Henry Cromwell.*

"Sir,

"The ensuing sermon was preached upon as sad an occasion as on any particular account hath been given to this nation in this our generation. It is now published at the desire of very many who love the savour of that perfume which is diffused with the memory of the noble person particularly mentioned herein. It was in my thoughts to direct it immediately to her [the widow] who was most nearly concerned in him; but, having observed how near she hath been to be swallowed up of sorrow, and with what slow progress He who took care to seal up instruction to her soul by all dispensations hath given her hitherto towards a conquest thereof, I was not willing to offer a new occasion to the multitude of her perplexed thoughts. In the meantime, sir, these lines are to you. Your near relation to that rare example of righteousness, faith, holiness, zeal, courage, self-denial, love to his country, wisdom and industry, the mutual tender affection between you whilst he was living, your presence with him in his last trial and conflict, your design of looking into and following his steps and purpose in the work of God and his generation, as such an accomplished pattern as few ages have produced the like—[all these] did easily induce me hereunto. I have nothing to express concerning yourself, but only my desires that your heart may be fixed to the Lord God of your fathers, and that in the

midst of all the temptations and opposition wherewith your pilgrimage will be attended, you may be carried on and established in your inward subjection to, and outward contending for, the kingdom of the Dearly Beloved of our souls, not fainting nor waxing weary until you also receive your dismission to rest for your lot in the end of the days.

"Sir, your most humble and affectionate servant,

"JOHN OWEN."

Upon Ireton's death, Cromwell fixed upon Charles Fleetwood to marry his widow. The Fleetwoods, deriving from an ancient stock in Lancashire, had recently made rapid progress in honours. Charles was the third son of Sir Miles Fleetwood, of Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire. In the Civil War the family became, like many others, divided, for while Sir William Fleetwood, of Aldwinkle, suffered for the King, his brother Charles was in the opposite ranks, becoming Oliver Cromwell's son-in-law and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in England, and both were nominated lords in his Upper House—nay, it has always been a sort of conjectural creed with many that Oliver designed Charles Fleetwood as successor to himself in the Protectorate, but that the instrument or will to that effect was not discoverable when wanted. Is it not Lord Broghill who unhesitatingly declares that such was the case, and that the fair spoiler who discovered and burnt the document was one of the Protector's own daughters?

What sort of Protector Fleetwood would have made it were vain to surmise. Entertaining in theory many of the maxims of his father-in-law, he was totally wanting in moral ascendency and personal prowess. He witnessed the elevation of his pacific nephew, Richard Cromwell, with impatience, and it was the factious course which he thereupon thought fit to pursue, which drew from Henry (then in Ireland) the memorable and oft-quoted letter,

exposing the folly and wickedness of using the army in defence of any sectional form of faith.

When at last the factions of the hour had exhausted themselves, and the return of Charles II. became inevitable, Fleetwood's Puritan principles and theoretic objections to the kingly office made him still hesitate to adopt those conciliatory measures by which other prominent agents mitigated the coming wrath.

There was one respect in which he could look back on the late upturnings without any remorse. The part which he had himself borne in them was marked throughout by perfect disinterestedness. Expressing once to Henry his unwillingness to aid out of the public purse a distant relative whom he calls "poor Cromwell," he frankly adds: "You in part know my estate and condition. I cannot make an advantage of my public employments as many have [done], or others suppose I do. Neither am I solicitous about this business. I have sufficient cause from experience to trust the Lord with children whom I shall leave behind me. His blessing with a little is great riches" (Thurloe, vii. 595).

Dr. Watts tells us, too, that his name was held in honour among the Churches.

Not having been implicated in the trial and death of Charles I., the penalty which overtook him was limited to degradation and partial confiscation. He passed from the activities of a camp to the social obscurity of a meek Dissenter in the suburban region of Stoke Newington. That place thus became early conspicuous as the chosen asylum of some of the more wealthy Puritan families; and the fines levied there on the Fleetwoods, Hartopps, and others of their non-conforming associates amounted in no long time to six or seven thousand pounds. Meanwhile, his Royalist father, Sir William, resumed his ancient position at Court in the capacity of cup-bearer to the restored monarch.

But it was not to Stoke Newington that Charles Fleetwood first fled to escape the returning torrent of royalism. He was naturally attracted to Feltwell St. Mary, in Norfolk, where an estate had descended to his first wife or her heirs. This first wife was Frances, sole daughter and eventual heiress of Thomas Smith, of Whinston, in Norfolk, Esq., and Fleetwood's retirement to this place may be reasonably regarded as contemporary with the death of his second wife, Bridget Cromwell. Having reached this point, it will be best, before proceeding further with Fleetwood's own affairs, to conclude the personal history of that excellent lady.

Bridget Cromwell belonged to the Puritan party *par excellence*, to which result the characters of both her husbands greatly contributed. The confederacy of Henry Ireton, Charles Fleetwood, Edmund Ludlow, John Hutchinson, and their associates, most of them being Baptists, represented the root and branch section of the anti-monarchists. Ludlow ardently admired Bridget's first husband, but could never be reconciled to her father; while Mrs. Colonel Hutchinson's memoir betrays the same envious spirit against the entire family of the Protector, always excepting her dear friend Bridget. "Oliver's wife and children," says she, "were setting up for principality, which suited no better with any of them than scarlet on the ape. Only to speak the truth of Oliver himself, he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped. His daughter Fleetwood was humbled, and not exalted with these things; but the rest were insolent fools."

There was no lack of cordiality between Bridget and her father, however much her own familiar friends might misunderstand him. She became, too, the mother of a daughter, the renowned Mrs. Bendysh, who, more than any other person in the succeeding generation, judged him aright and reflected his character. Fortunately there are

sufficient materials in Oliver's correspondence to illustrate his estimate of Bridget's piety and his care to foster it. The first letter to be noticed was sent to her a few months after her first marriage, and constitutes one of the choicest gems of the Cromwellian biography. The "sister Claypole" referred to was Elizabeth Cromwell, who had also been very recently married.

"*For my beloved daughter Bridget Ireton, at Cornbury the General's Quarters.*

"London, 25 October, 1646.

"DEAR DAUGHTER.

"I write not to thy husband, partly to avoid trouble, for one line of mine begets many of his, which I doubt makes him sit up too late; partly because I am myself indisposed at this time, having some other considerations. Your friends at Ely are well. Your sister Claypole is, I trust, in mercy exercised with some perplexed thoughts. She sees her own vanity and carnal mind; bewailing it. She seeks after, as I hope also, what will satisfy. And thus to be a seeker, is to be of the best sect next to a finder; and such an one shall every faithful humble seeker be at the end. Happy seeker, happy finder! Who ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sense of self vanity and badness? Who ever tasted that graciousness of His, and could go less in desire,—less than pressing after full enjoyment? Dear heart, press on. Let not husband, let not any thing cool thy affections after Christ. I hope he [thy husband] will be an occasion to inflame them. That which is best worthy of love in thy husband is that of the image of Christ he bears. Look on that and love it best, and all the rest for that. I pray for thee and him. Do so for me. My service and dear affections to the General [Fairfax] and Generaless. I hear she is very kind to thee. It adds to all other obligations.

"I am, thy dear Father,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

In the next extant letter she is addressed, not as the wife of Ireton, but as that of Fleetwood, on her second arrival in Ireland. It is not difficult to see that this second visit had something depressing about it. Her first experiences of Irish life had been in company with the gallant Ireton, but now her heart seems to have been yearning for the children whom we judge to have been left behind her in England. Whatever it was, her father evidently felt that there was need for solace and encouragement. But, first of all, he seeks to silence her groundless anxieties, as though she were the victim of penal discipline. "The voice of fear," says he, "is, If I had done this, or avoided that, how well it had been with me. (This I know hath been her vain reasoning.) Whereas, love argueth on this wise, What a Christ have I.—What a Father in and through Him.—What a name hath my Father, merciful, gracious, long suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin. What a nature hath my Father. He is love, free in it, unchangeable, infinite. What a Covenant between Him and Christ for all the seed, for every one; wherein He undertakes all, and the poor soul nothing. And shall we seek for the root of our comforts within ourselves? Acts of obedience are not perfect, and therefore yield not perfect grace. Faith, as an act, yields it not but only as it carries us into Him who is our perfect rest and peace, in whom we are accounted of and received by the Father even as Christ himself. This is our high calling. Rest we here, and here only." He concludes by assuring her that her two children, "the boy and Betty, are very well." The boy is Henry Ireton; but Betty may be either Elizabeth or Bridget.

A third letter from her father, dated two years later and directed to Fleetwood, is in a similar strain as concerning herself, and need not therefore be quoted. On returning to England with her husband and the infant children born to them in Dublin, she had to witness during the next three

years her father's death and the downfall of his family. Amid the national confusions which prepared the way for the Restoration, she did her utmost to sustain her husband in some sort of consistent action, but his scrupulous conscience proved a very intractable factor in that whirlpool and conflict of second-rate men. Edmund Ludlow has recorded a scene in which with tears she besought his counsel and aid. It has been said that she disapproved of her father's elevation to the supreme power; and very possibly she may in former years have entertained theoretical objections to such a measure, especially when she lived in companionship with Ireton. The place of her death is uncertain, but her burial is recorded at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, July 1, 1662. Few, if any, of her letters survive, except the following one which she sent back from England to her brother Henry, when he superseded her own husband, Fleetwood, in the government of Ireland.

Mrs. Bridget Fleetwood to Henry Cromwell, Lord-Deputy in Ireland, date 1657 (?).

"Dear Brother,

"I am very unfit and unapt to write, and yet I would not altogether neglect to stir up that affection which ought to be betwixt so near relations, and is very apt to decay. I blame none but myself. I desire rather so to do than to lay it upon others, or to be a judge of others. I could wish there had not been so much occasion of the contrary, wherein my corrupt heart hath taken advantage. I desire to be humbled for it, and not to give way, whatever others' unkindness may be, to weaken that love and affection which ought to be and is the desire of my soul to defend and nourish in me towards yourself, though it may be not much cared for. Yet, however, I shall labour to be found in my duty, which is to be,

"Your dear and affectionate sister,

"Bridget Fleetwood."

Abstract of the Will of General Fleetwood, recorded in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, January 10, 1690.

"I, Charles Fleetwood of Stoke Newington in the County of Middlesex, Esq. being through the mercy of the Lord in health and memory, do make &c. First, I commend my soul and spirit into the hands of my gracious God and father through our Lord Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit enabling me to lay hold upon the imputed righteousness of Christ for my justification, and in virtue of that righteousness do I hope to stand at the great day of the Lord. My body to be buried in the same grave or as near as may be to my last dear wife. Debts, wages, &c. to be paid within one year of death. To my daughter the Lady Elizabeth Hartopp £100 as a last expression of my thankfulness for the constant dear love and duty she hath always manifested unto me. I give unto dear daughter Carter £100. To my cousin Mary Waterson £20 over and above the £20 which my last dear wife owed her by bond which I now direct my executor to pay. To Anne Pace £10 for myself and £10 more which my last wife gave her [two devises left blank, follow]. I give to the poor distressed people of God £200 such as my executor with two of my trustees hereafter named (Sir John Hartopp to be one) shall think fit objects of charity. £10 to be paid to the poor of that society with whom I have had Christian communion in the Gospel,—as also £6 to my antient friend James Berry Esq. and £3 to Mr. Howard minister of the Gospel and to Mr. Thomas Taylor minister of the Gospel at Cambridge and Mr. Pelloe minister of the Gospel at Sudbury, and £2 to any others that I shall name in a paper behind me. I give and devise to Sir John Hartopp bart., Samuel Desborrow doctor of physic, Captain John Nicholas, and Nathaniel Gould merchant their heirs and assigns all my manor or lordship of Burrough alias Burrough-Castle, Co. Suffolk,

in trust to pay legacies &c. and afterwards to convey the same to my son and heir Smyth Fleetwood and his heirs for ever. To each of my said trustees £5 for mourning. And whereas there is a debt due to me from my son Bendysh, my will is that my executor shall not demand the said debt till God shall in His providence make a comfortable provision for his wife and children. My son Smyth Fleetwood to be sole executor—Signed 10 January 1690—in presence of Edward Terry, Mary Waterson, John Wealshdale. Proved by Smyth Fleetwood in P. C. C. 2 November 1692. Registered '*Fane*' 201."—*Notes and Queries*, May 4, 1872.

In accordance with the above will, General Fleetwood was buried in his wife's tomb in Bunhill Fields.

Children of the Protector's daughter Bridget by Henry Ireton, her first husband.

I. Henry, who married Katharine, daughter of the Right Hon. Henry Powle, Speaker of the House of Commons in 1689 and Master of the Rolls. He became Lieutenant-Colonel of Dragoons, and Gentleman of the Horse to William III., but died without issue.

II. Elizabeth, born about 1647. A brief reference to her childhood occurs in a letter sent in 1651 by Oliver St. John "to his kinsman Oliver Cromwell," then commanding in Ireland: "Tell my cousin Ireton that his wife breeds Betty up in the Popish religion to worship images, and that [which] she now worships teacheth her to frown." What this playful sarcasm indicates we can only conjecture. In 1674 she was married to Thomas Polhill, of Otford, co. Kent, Esq.

Family of Polhill.

The issue of the marriage of Elizabeth Ireton and Mr. Polhill consisted of three sons: (1) David, of whom pre-

sently; (2) Henry, who died in his father's life-time; (3) Charles, a Smyrna merchant, born 1679; died *s.p.* 1755, having married Martha, daughter of Thomas Streatfeild, of Sevenoaks.

David, of Cheapstead, in Kent, born in 1675; M.P. for the county, then for Bramber, and finally for Rochester, which city he represented till he reached the age of seventy-nine. This is the gentleman whom Daniel De Foe memorialized as the leader of the Kentish Petitioners of 1701, a body of five delegates who, in the reign of William III., presented a remonstrance to the Houses condemnatory of their subservience to the Court of France, the other names being Thomas Colepepper, William Colepepper, William Hamilton, and Justinian Champneys, Esquires. For this they were committed to the Gatehouse, and kept prisoners for a week; but their return into Kent resembled the march of conquerors. Polhill was met at Blackheath by five hundred horsemen, and escorted to his house at Otford; the other four were met at Rochester by nearly half the county, and from thence on to Maidstone, where flowers were strewn in their path, and all the church bells set a-ringing. A contemporary print is preserved in the Polhill family containing the portraits of the five patriots.

Mr. Polhill was thrice married — first to Elizabeth Trevor; secondly, to Gertrude, sister of Thomas Hollis, Duke of Newcastle; and, thirdly, to Elizabeth, daughter of John Borrett, of Shoreham; the last became the mother of four sons and one daughter. In these sons and daughters were united not only the blood of Oliver Cromwell and Henry Ireton, but also that of the patriot, John Hampden, for Elizabeth Borrett's mother was the daughter of Sir John Trevor, of Denbighshire, by Ruth, eldest daughter of John Hampden. The names of these children were Charles, Thomas, Henry, John, and Elizabeth, all of whom died unmarried except

CHARLES, of Cheapstead, and afterwards of Otford; married, first, Tryphena Penelope, daughter of Sir John Shelley, of Mitchel Grove, Sussex, bart., and by her had one daughter, Tryphena Penelope, who married George Stafford, and had two sons, Charles and Thomas George. Mr. Polhill by his second wife, Patience Haswell, had seven children: George, his successor; Charles, who died unmarried; David, died in infancy; Patience, unmarried; a second David, unmarried; Thomas Alfred, lost in the South Seas from the *Guardian* (Captain Rion); Francis, Comptroller of the Customs at Monserrat, in the West Indies, died 1839. Mr. Polhill died in 1805, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

GEORGE, who married Mary, daughter of Robert Porteus, and grand-niece of Dr. Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London, and died in 1839. Their children were: (1) Charles, who married Sarah Marshall, and had two daughters, Beatrice Mary, born 1867, married, 1888, to Alfred George Streatfield Beadnell, and has one son, Montgomery Polhill Beadnell, and Elizabeth Mary, born 1868, married, 1890, to Robert Brownell Dobble, has issue one daughter, Sybil Mary; (2) Mary Elizabeth Campbell, died 1884; (3) Frederick Campbell, of Sundridge, Sevenoaks, curate of Hever, which post he resigned in 1850; (4) George, died in 1892; (5) Henry Western Onslow, rector of Ashurst, Kent, married to Miss Frances Charlotte Streatfield. The seat of the Polhills contains a valuable collection of the portraits of their illustrious ancestry, including many full lengths.

III.—JANE, second daughter of Bridget Cromwell and Henry Ireton; born about 1648; married, 1668, Richard Lloyd, of St. James's, Duke's Place, Esq., widower, and had an only child, Jane, wife in 1710 of Nicholas (or Henry) Morse, Esq. Issue of this marriage were four sons: David, Henry, Nicholas, Daniel. There were also three daughters: Elizabeth, Jane, and Anne, of whom

the eldest married Mr. Oyle, a physician, and became the mother of Elizabeth, married to Samuel Codrington; Jane, the second daughter, became Mrs. Burroughs; and Anne, the youngest daughter, became Mrs. Roberts.

After the death of Richard Lloyd, his widow (Jane aforesaid) married Mr. William Barnard. The descendants of this marriage are set out below:

WILLIAM BARNARD, of Pennington and Longthorpe, colonel; b. 1634; m. 1680; d. 1709; bur. at Pennington. = JANE, relict of Richard Lloyd, and dau. of Henry Ireton, by Bridget, eldest dau. of Oliver Cromwell.

William Barnard, b. 1685; d. 1775; bur. at Great Ellingham, Norfolk. = ...

William Barnard, b. at Rockland, Norfolk, 1709; d. Sept., 1788; bur. at Old Meeting, Norwich. = Mary, dau. and heir of Jas. Corsbie, of the family of Corsbie, of Corsbie Castle, Berwickshire; b. at Ashwellthorpe, 1714; d. 21 May, 1801; bur. at Old Meeting, Norwich.

Thomas Barnard, b. 18 Dec., 1757; mar. at Sudbury, May, 1789; d. 1 April, 1833. = Ann, youngest dau. and co-heir of Samuel and Deborah Stott, of St. Edmundsbury, Suffolk; b. 10 Mar., 1758; d. 11 Nov., 1811.

Alfred Barnard, b. 14 Feb., 1793; mar. 10 Nov., 1817; d. 4 July, 1835; bur. at Octagon Chapel, Norwich. = Frances Katherine, eldest dau. and co-heir of Francis Smith, of Norwich (descendant of Robert Pierrepont, 1st Earl of Kingston-upon-Hull), and Sarah (Marsh); b. 7 May, 1796; d. 20 Jan., 1869; bur. in the Rosary, Norwich.

Alfred Francis Barnard, b. at Norwich, 4 Jan., 1821; mar. in London, 5 Jan., 1854; d. in London, 14 Sept., 1894; bur. at Highgate Cemetery. = Mary Hog, eldest dau. of Thos. Calvert Girtin and Rachel (Haward), and grand-dau. of Thomas Girtin, the water-colour painter; b. 20 Jan., 1829.

Francis Pierrepont Barnard, son and heir, of St. Mary's Abbey, Windermere; M.A. Oxon; some time headmaster of Reading School, Berks; b. 27 Nov. 1854; mar. at Windermere, 15 April, 1884. = Eliza Smith, eldest dau. and co-heir of William Pollard, J.P., of St. Mary's Abbey, Windermere.

Touching the four sons of Mr. Morse aforesaid, nothing seems recoverable unless we make an exception in favour of the third named, and regard him as the Nicholas Morse who was Governor of Madras in the middle of the last

century, and whose daughter, Amelia, married Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, and father of Nicholas, the first Lord Bexley. It may suffice to add that the claim which the Vansittart family have long asserted, touching their descent from the Protector through Henry Ireton and Nicholas Morse, has every right to be accepted as legitimate, the only difficulty in the way being that Mark Noble gives "Moore" instead of "Morse" as the name of Jane Lloyd's husband. That this is an error, occasioned by the resemblance of the two words in manuscript, hardly admits of a doubt. It is also to be noted that the lady who about the same time, viz., in 1771, became the wife of the last Oliver Cromwell, Esq., was named Mary Morse, indicative at least of friendly relations existing between families so named.

Amelia Morse, the wife of Governor Henry Vansittart aforesaid, died in 1818 at her house on Blackheath, aged eighty. Her husband had long been dead, having perished at a comparatively early age on his passage to India in the *Aurora* frigate.

Nicholas Vansittart, Baron Bexley, was the second son of Henry Vansittart, the Governor of Bengal. Lord Bexley was born in 1766, four years before his father's death at sea. In 1784 he went to Christchurch, Oxford, and in 1791 was called to the Bar in Lincoln's Inn. He entered the House as member for Hastings, and in 1801 was entrusted with a special mission to Copenhagen. The Danes, overawed by Napoleon, refused at that time to entertain an English ambassador, and on returning home, Mr. Vansittart became joint Secretary of the Treasury, which office he held till the Addington Ministry resigned in 1804. Under Lord Liverpool he became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1812, and held the post for twenty-one years. In 1823 he obtained his peerage and a seat in the Cabinet, and took little share afterwards in public affairs, dying in 1851, at the age of eighty-five, at his residence of

Footscray, near Bexley, in Kent. He married in 1806 the Hon. Katharine Isabella Eden, second daughter of William, first Lord Auckland; but by her, who died four years afterwards, he left no issue, whereupon the barony of Bexley became extinct, and a pension of £3,000 lapsed to the Crown.

IV.—BRIDGET, third daughter of Bridget Cromwell and Henry Ireton; born about the year 1650. The biography of this lady, as heretofore given, simply consists of three different sketches, supplied respectively by Samuel Say, a Dissenting minister, by Dr. J. Brooke, and by her relation, Mr. Hewling Luson. In the following version an attempt has been made to impart greater completeness to the account by blending these three narratives. Bridget, together with one or two others of the family, appears to have been left under the care of their grandmother, the Protectress, when their own mother went to Ireland with her second husband, Fleetwood, in 1652. Her grandfather's death occurred before she was ten years of age; that of her mother followed four years later; so that she must have had an unquiet time of it before she settled down with her sisters beneath the roof of their step-father, Fleetwood, in the nonconforming atmosphere of Stoke Newington. Here she passed four or five years of her life, till her marriage in 1669 with Thomas Bendysh, of Gray's Inn and of Southtown, Yarmouth, Esq., a distant relative of Sir Thomas Bendysh, who had served as Ambassador to Turkey both from Charles I. and from the Protector Oliver. Soon after her marriage she settled at Southtown, near Yarmouth, where her husband owned farms and salt-mines. It would be highly interesting, were the materials extant, to trace the early married life of this excellent lady.

Samuel Say, the earliest of Mrs. Bendysh's biographers, had many opportunities of knowing her intimately, for he had not only been pastor of a church in the neighbouring town of Ipswich, but he married a relative of Mr. Carter,

of Yarmouth, the husband of Mary Fleetwood; moreover, he had been a fellow-student with Dr. Watts. Here is his description of her personal appearance:

"As Mrs. Bendysh in the features of her face exactly resembled the best picture of her grandfather Oliver which I have ever seen, and which is now at Rosehall, in the possession of Sir Robert Rich, so she seems also as exactly to resemble him in the cast of her mind—a person of great presence and majesty, heroic courage and indefatigable industry, and with something in her countenance and manner that at once attracts and commands respect the moment she appears in company."

Dr. J. Brooke, of Norwich, another of her biographers, whose testimony is of a later date, remarks: "There was something in her person when she was dressed and in company that could not fail of attracting at once the notice and respect of any strangers that entered the room wherever she was, though the company were ever so numerous, and though many of them might be more splendid in their appearance. Splendid, indeed, she never was, her highest dress being a plain silk; but it was usually of the richest sort, though, as far as I can remember, of what is called a quaker's colour; and she wore besides a kind of black silk hood or scarf that I rarely, if ever, observed to be worn by ladies of her time; and though hoops were in fashion long before her death, nothing, I suppose, could have induced her to wear one. I can so far recollect her countenance as to confirm what is observed by Mr. Say of her likeness to the best pictures of Oliver; and she no less resembled him in the qualities of enterprise, resolution, courage, and enthusiasm."

The narrative of Mr. Hewling Luson, the third of her biographers, who, like Dr. Brooke, knew her only in advanced life, presents us with a similar picture. Luson's mother was a younger sister of Hannah Hewling (Mrs. Henry Cromwell), and the sympathy which Mrs. Bendysh

felt for the fate of her brothers fully accounts for the frequency of her visits to the elder Mr. Luson's house. "I was young," says Hewling Luson—"not more than sixteen—when Mrs. Bendysh died, yet she came so often to my father's house that I remember her person, her dress, her manner, and her conversation, which were all strikingly peculiar, with great precision, and I have heard much more of her than I have seen. She was certainly, both without and within, in her person and in her spirit, exactly like her grandfather, the Protector. Her features, the turn of her face, and the expression of her countenance, all agree very exactly with the excellent pictures I have seen of the Protector in the Cromwell family; and whoever looks upon the print prefixed to the octavo 'Life of Cromwell,' said to be published by the late Bishop Gibson about the year 1725, which exactly agrees with these pictures, will have a clear idea of Mrs. Bendysh's person, if their imaginations can add a female dress, a few years in age, and a very little softening of the features. I refer to that print because the fine engraving of Cromwell in the Houbraken Collection bears very little resemblance to the pictures in the Cromwell family, and no resemblance at all to Mrs. Bendysh. . . . She had strong and masculine sense, a free and spirited elocution, much knowledge of the world, great dignity in her manner, and a most engaging address. The place of her residence was called the Salt Pans [near Yarmouth]. In this place, which is quite open to the road, I have often seen her in the morning, stumping about with an old straw hat on her head, her hair about her ears, without stays, and when it was cold an old blanket about her shoulders and a staff in her hands—in a word, exactly accoutred to mount the stage as a witch in 'Macbeth.' Yet if at such a time she were accosted by any person of rank or breeding, the dignity of her manner and politeness of style, which nothing could efface, would instantly break through the

veil of debasement which concealed her native grandeur, and a stranger to her customs might become astonished to find himself addressed by a princess while he was looking at a mumper. Mrs. Bendysh resembled the Protector in nothing more than in that restless, unabated activity of spirit, which, by the coincidence of a thousand favourable circumstances, conducted him to the summit of power and of fame, but entangled her, generally unfavoured by success, in a thousand embarrassments and disgraces. Yet she never fainted, nor was weary. One prospect lost, another still she gained, and the enthusiasm of her faith kept pace with, or, to speak more truly, far outran the activity of her mind. . . . She had one constant, never-failing resource against the vexation of disappointments, for as she determined, at all events, to serve the Lord with gladness, her way was to rejoice at everything as it arrived. If she succeeded, she was thankful for that; and if she suffered adversity, which was generally her lot, she was vastly more thankful for that, and she so managed that her spiritual joys always encreased with her outward sufferings. . . . Mrs. Bendysh's religion was in the highest strain of Calvinistic enthusiasm, and Dr. Owen in his writings was her spiritual guide. She no more doubted the validity of her election to the kingdom of heaven than Squire Wilkes doubts the validity of his for the county of Middlesex. But her enthusiasm never carried her to greater lengths of extravagance than in the justification of her grandfather, of whose memory she was passionately fond. It, however, unfortunately happened that her fancy led her to defend him exactly in that part of his character which was least defensible. She valued him, no doubt, very highly as a General and politician, but she had got it fixed in her head that this kind of fame was vain and worthless when compared with the greater glory of his saintship. . . . Now, it could not but happen that for five hundred who might be pre-

vailed with to receive Oliver as a great General, not five could be found who would admit him to be a great saint, and this constant kicking against Oliver's saintship wrought the good lady sore travail."

"This extraordinary woman," says Dr. Brooke, "wanted only to have acted in a superior sphere to be ranked by historians among the most admirable heroines. . . . She lived through what the Dissenters but too justly called the troublous times, when the penal laws against conventicles were strained to their utmost rigour. The preaching of this sect was then held in the closest concealment, and the preachers went in momentary danger of being dragged out by spies and informers to heavy fines and severe imprisonment. With these spies and informers she maintained a perpetual war. This kind of bustle was in all respects in the true taste of her spirit. I have heard many stories of her dealings with these ungracious people. Sometimes she circumvented and outwitted them, and sometimes she bullied them, and the event generally was that she got the poor parson out of their clutches. Upon these occasions and upon all others when they could express their attachment to her, Mrs. Bendysh was sure of the common people. She was, as she deserved to be, very dear to them. When she had money, she gave it freely to such as wanted; and when she had none, which was pretty often the case, they were sure of receiving civility and commiseration. She practised an exalted humanity. If in the meanest sick-room she found the sufferer insufficiently attended, she turned attendant herself, and would sit hours in the poorest chamber to administer support or consolation to the afflicted. In this noble employment she passed much of her time." She was in the secret of the Revolution of 1688, and would go into shops in different parts of the town under pretence of cheapening silks or other goods, and on coming out to her coach take occasion to drop

bundles of papers to prepare the minds of the people for that happy event, for she might safely be trusted with any secret, were it ever so important. After the accession of William and Mary, she was presented to the Queen by Archbishop Tillotson with a view to the settlement of a pension, to enable her to support in some creditable measure the dignity which she had tasted in early days; but the death of both prelate and Queen defeated that design.

Mrs. Bendysh's husband had died on April 27, 1707, and was buried in St. Nicholas Church, Yarmouth, where she erected a monument to his memory. She survived him twenty-two years, dying in 1729 at the age of eighty. She was buried at Yarmouth, having had two sons and one daughter, viz.:

1. THOMAS, who died in the West Indies. His first wife was the mother of his only son, Ireton, a young man of great promise, whose early death was much lamented. His second wife was Katharine Smith, of Colskirk, near Fakenham, a lady of property; but extravagant habits darkened their remaining history. The fate of this family was no doubt one of the sorrows of old Mrs. Bendysh.

2. BRIDGET, lived and died at the paternal seat of Southtown. She died at Yarmouth, unmarried, in 1736, aged sixty-four.

3. HENRY, of Bedford Row, London, where he died in 1740; married Martha Shute, sister of the first Viscount Barrington, and had (1) Henry, of Chingford, and of the Salt-pans at Southtown, died unmarried in 1753, when the name of Bendysh became extinct in this branch of the family; (2) Mary, married to William Berners, of whom presently; (3) Elizabeth, married, 1756, to John Hagar, of Waresley Park, son of Admiral Hagar.

Family of Berners.

MARY, grand-daughter of Bridget Bendysh, and William Berners her husband both died in 1783. Their surviving

children were: (1) Charles, of whom presently; (2) Henry, rector of Hambledon, near Henley-on-Thames, had one child (Emma) by his wife, Elizabeth Weston.

Charles, born 1740; married Katharine, daughter of John Laroche, of Egham, M.P. for Bodmin, and had issue:

(1) Charles, his heir, who, dying unmarried in 1831, was succeeded by his brother; (2) Henry Denny; (3) William, a London banker, married Rachel Jarrett, of Freemantle, in Hampshire, and had William, a captain in the horse artillery, Henry, married to Miss Saunders, and Arthur; (4) Martha, married to Herbert Newton Jarrett, of Jamaica, Esq., and died 1831.

Mr. Charles Berners, died 1815, and was succeeded, first by his son Charles, secondly by his second son,

Rev. Henry Denny Berners, LL.B., Archdeacon of Suffolk. By his wife Dinah, daughter of John Jarret, Esq., he had issue: (1) John, born 1800, died *s.p.*; (2) Hugh, born 1801, Captain R.N., married, 1832, Julia, daughter of John Ashton, of the Grange, Cheshire, died at Wolverstone, in Suffolk, in 1891, aged eighty-nine; he had a son and three daughters; (3) Ralph, born 1803, rector of Harkstead and Erwarton, in Suffolk, married, 1831, Eliza, daughter of Sir Cornelius Cuyler, of Welwyn, bart., and had three sons and two daughters; (4) Alice, died unmarried, 1820.

Children of Bridget Cromwell by her second husband, Charles Fleetwood.

By Bridget Cromwell, Fleetwood was the father of

I. Cromwell Fleetwood, born about 1653; married in 1679 to Elizabeth Nevill, of Little Berkhampstead, Hertfordshire; administration of his goods was granted September 20, 1688. He seems to have died without issue.

II. Anne Nancy Fleetwood, buried in Westminster Abbey before 1659, and exhumed at the Restoration.

III. Mary, who married Nathaniel Carter, of Yarmouth, February 21, 1678; died without issue; and several other children, most of whom died young, and none of whom left issue.

Of the remaining children may be: (1) Charles, buried at Stoke Newington in 1676; (2) Bridget, buried at Stoke Newington in 1681; (3) Ellen, buried at Stoke Newington in 1731. The authority for the above consists in various allusions to children or approaching births occurring in letters passing between the Protector, Thurloe, and Fleetwood, compared with entries in the Stoke Newington registers. Fleetwood's will throws no light upon the subject; and another difficulty arises from the fact that the Misses Cromwell, of Hampstead, whose knowledge of the family may be supposed to have been complete, took no notice in their pedigrees of any issue of Fleetwood's marriage with Bridget Cromwell.

CHAPTER IX.

ELIZABETH, THE PROTECTOR'S SECOND DAUGHTER.

BORN at Huntingdon on July 2, 1629, Elizabeth married in 1646 John Claypoole, eldest son and heir of John Claypoole, of Northborough, or Norborough, near Market Deeping. The father had fallen under the displeasure of the Court for contumacy in respect of ship-money, a circumstance sufficient to account for that personal intimacy with Oliver Cromwell which issued in the marriage aforesaid, and in Cromwell's creating John Claypoole, senior, a baronet, July 16, 1657. Under the Protectorate, the younger Claypoole became Master of the Horse, with other positions of emolument, besides obtaining a seat in Oliver's Upper House. At the Restoration, having taken no hostile action against the King's party, he was permitted, not without molestation, to retire into private life. His death occurred on June 26, 1688, at which time he was of the Middle Temple, London.

Elizabeth Cromwell was her father's favourite daughter, and, judging by the portraits taken at different periods of her life, must have been very attractive in person. The narrator of Sir James Harrington's recovery of his manuscript of "Oceana," which had been seized by the Protector's orders, states that Sir James determined to make

his application through the Lady Claypoole, "because she acted the part of a princess very naturally, obliging all persons with her civility, and frequently interceding for the miserable." This is the lady who has so often been made to figure in pictures by artists of the royalist school, who represent her, during her last illness, as upbraiding her father for the part he had taken against the King, representations which may safely be dismissed.

The Protector's parental anxiety has been already witnessed in the letter written to her elder sister, Bridget, in 1646. Five years later, when she was living with her husband at Norborough House,* and had apparently just recovered from the perils of childbirth, Oliver, writing from Edinburgh to her mother, says: "Mind poor Betty of the Lord's great mercy. Oh, I desire her not only to seek the Lord in her necessity, but in deed and in truth to turn to the Lord, and to keep close to Him, and to take heed of a departing heart and of being cozened with worldly vanities and worldly company, which I doubt she is too subject to. I earnestly and frequently pray for her and for him. Truly they are very dear to me—very dear, and I am in fear lest Satan should deceive them, knowing how weak our hearts are, and how subtle the adversary is, and what way the deceitfulness of our hearts and the vain world make for his temptations. The Lord give them truth of heart to Him. Let them seek Him in truth, and they shall find Him. My love to the dear little ones. I pray for grace for them. I thank them for their letters; let me have them often."

Four years subsequently another domestic episode engaged the parents' sympathy. The following scraps of intelligence, pointing apparently to the birth at Whitehall of her fourth and last child, will sufficiently tell the tale.

* There was long a tradition at Norborough House that Oliver was fond of spending his Christmas there. The Protectress seems to have had a similar attachment to the spot; it was there that she spent the evening of her days.

"My lady Elizabeth continues ill, but we hope mending. Her Highness [the Protectress] is recovered. It was grief [which brought her down], but now his Highness and she rest well. . . . I never saw two parents so affected e'er now as my Lord Protector and her Highness." Fleetwood writes: "The illness of my sister Claypoole is so very great that both their Highnesses are under a great trial. You know the dearness they have unto her; and though we know not how the Lord will deal with her, yet her recovery is much doubted. This afternoon hath given very great cause of fear"; but he adds in a postscript: "Since the writing hereof my sister Claypoole is fallen into travail, and so her condition is very hopeful."

She did, in fact, survive the trial, but never seems to have recovered robust health. During the next year she joined her two unmarried sisters, Mary and Frances, at Hampton Court, and appears to have resided there for the remaining two years of her life. The following letter, dated a few weeks before her death, and presumably the last she ever wrote, is addressed to her sister-in-law, Henry Cromwell's wife. It contains a reference to the latest plots against her father's life:

Lady Elizabeth Claypoole to Lady Elizabeth Cromwell.
June 12, 1658.

"Dear Sister,

"I must beg your pardon that I do not write to you so oft as I would do; but in earnest I have been so extreem sickly of late that it has made me unfit for anything; though there is nothing that can please me more than wherein I may express my true love and respect to you, which I am sure none has more reason than myself, both for your former favours and the sense you have of any thing which arises to me of happiness. I will assure you, nothing of that can be to me wherein I have not a power to express how really I love and honour you. Truly

the Lord has been very gracious to us, in doing for us above what we could expect; and now has shewed Himself more extraordinary in delivering my father out of the hands of his enemies; which we have all reason to be sensible of, in a very particular manner; for certainly not only his family would have been ruined, but in all probability the whole nation would have been involved in blood. The Lord grant it may never be forgotten by us, but that it may cause us to depend upon Him from whom we have received all good, and that it may cause us to see the mutableness of these things, and to use them accordingly: I am sure we have need to beg that spirit from God. Harry is very well: I hope you will see him this summer. Truly there is nothing I desire more than to enjoy you with us; and I wish that you may [lie-in] here. I beg my true affection to your little ones.

"Dear Sister, I am,

"Your most affectionate sister and servant,

"ELIZABETH CLAYPOOLE."

Every testimony which we possess of a direct or personal kind shows her to have been loyal to the cause of her father. Attempts have been made to prove her sympathy with Dr. Hewitt and other episcopalian plotters, and an infamous letter to that effect has even been fabricated in her name; but her own words negative the insinuation.

She died on August 6, just four weeks before her father. After lying in state in the Painted Chamber, she was carried in pompous procession on the night of August 10, 1658, to a new vault in Henry VII.'s chapel, her aunt Robina (Mrs. Wilkins) walking as chief mourner.

Horace Walpole says: "Lord Pelham has a small three-quarters of Mrs. Claypoole, on which is written *M. Ritus fec.* It is an emblematic piece, the allegory of which is very obscure, but highly finished." M. Ritus

stands for Michael Wright, a Scots painter. Lord Pelham probably acquired this relic through his wife, Anne Frankland, the great-grand-daughter of Frances Cromwell.

The children of Elizabeth Cromwell and John Claypoole were three sons and one daughter:

I. CROMWELL, born about 1647, to whom his father resigned his manor of Norborough with appendages. He died a bachelor in 1678, and was buried in the chancel of Norborough Church, according to his express direction, as near to the body of his grandmother, the Protectress, as convenience would admit. The family relics at his disposal he left to his cousins, having no surviving brother or sister directly descended, but only a half-sister. His will may be read *in extenso* in Mark Noble's "Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell."

II. HENRY, went, as is supposed, into the army, and pre-deceased his brother.

III. OLIVER, died young, June, 1658, during the last illness of his mother, a circumstance which precipitated her own dissolution.

IV. MARTHA, died young and unmarried, January, 1664; buried in Norborough Church 1664.

It will thus be seen that with the death of Mr. Cromwell Claypoole in 1678 this branch of the Protector's family dies out. True it is that ever and anon persons of the name of Claypoole or Claypole are found cropping up to claim descent through that channel. But descent from John Claypoole is not enough, since he married a second time. Claypooles inheriting the blood of Cromwell through the Lady Elizabeth are no longer in existence.

CHAPTER X.

MARY, THE PROTECTOR'S THIRD DAUGHTER.

BORN at Ely, Mary was christened at Huntingdon on February 9, 1637. It is believed that when only seventeen years of age she had to encounter the matrimonial proposals of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury. Edmund Ludlow is our principal authority for the statement, which occurs among the suppressed passages in his "Memoirs," a work from which everything reflecting injuriously on the character or career of Shaftesbury was cut out previous to publication. "Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was first for the King, then for the Parliament, then in Cromwell's first assembly for the Reformation, and afterwards for Cromwell against the Reformation; now being denied Cromwell's daughter, Mary, in marriage, he appears against Cromwell's design in the last assembly, and is therefore dismissed the Council, Cromwell being resolved to act there as the chief juggler himself." Oldmixon and Anthony à Wood sustain this testimony, though neither of them gives the name of Mary. Cromwell must have thought favourably of him when he summoned him to join his first Convention; since then he had probably read him down. But whatever was the cause of alienation, the matrimonial suit appears to have miscarried suddenly and

entirely. Perhaps the young lady herself entertained personal objections to one who had already had two wives, and was nearly twice her own age. Mr. Christie, the modern editor of the Shaftesbury papers, throws doubt on the whole transaction.

The next suitor was Sir Edward Mansfield, of Wales, of whom next to nothing is recorded. Fleetwood, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, preserved in the Lansdowne MSS. 821, "hopes he may be worthy of so deserving a lady"; which perhaps means he hopes Sir Edward will not get her. The claims of the Welsh knight, whoever he was, quickly paled before the advances of a more dashing aspirant in the person of Thomas Bellasyse, Viscount Fauconberg, who was just then returning from foreign travel.

Lord Fauconberg, who was about twenty-nine years of age, was also, like Mary Cromwell's first lover, a widower, but he was the representative of an illustrious family holding large estates in Durham, Yorkshire, and Lancashire, to which, as also to the title, he had recently succeeded upon the death of his grandfather Thomas, the first Viscount Fauconberg. Sir Richard Bellasyse, the Knight of Durham, had served on the committee acting in the Parliament's behalf for that county; but, with almost this sole exception, the entire family had been avowed Royalists during the war, and Oliver no doubt felt that union with the new lord would tend to conciliate an important section of aristocratic malcontents. Seconded, therefore, by the Protectoral policy, the young man's ambition found little or no obstacle in his path. He commenced his suit when passing through Paris from Italy, in the spring of 1657, by enlisting the services of Sir William Lockhart, the English ambassador in the Court of Louis XIV., in whom he found an ally who was not only the husband of one of Oliver's nieces, but a statesman whose diplomatic career reflected more credit on the Protestant Protector's name than any other of his Continental representatives. And so well did

the ambassador plead the suitor's cause with Mr. Secretary Thurloe, vindicating him from the charge of supposed Romanist proclivities, and enlarging on his personal endowments, and on his attachment to the actual form of government, that the young lord's arrival in England and presentation at Court was speedily followed by his nuptials, which took place at Hampton Court with great pomp and magnificence on November 19, 1657. The public ceremony was performed according to the simple ritual then in use among the Puritans; but before the day was over, by general consent, the marriage contract was repeated in the Anglican form. Andrew Marvell thereupon composed a pastoral eclogue, and the news-writers did their best to follow in fancy's train and snatch a ray from Parnassus. Her brother Henry, whose duties kept him in Ireland, seems to have been the only absent member of the family. Lord and Lady Fauconberg immediately after the marriage interchanged letters with him and his wife, full of cordial salutations, which may be read in Thurloe. Of this marriage there was no surviving issue. The following letter, written by the husband only three months afterwards, will explain itself:

Lord Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland.

"WHITEHALL,
"February 26, 1658.

"MY LORD,

"This place is at present so distracted with the death of my brother Rich.—especially my dame, whose present condition makes it more dangerous to her than the rest—that I must humbly beg your lordship's pardon if in short I only tell you that Major-General Packer, four Captains, and the Captain-Lieutenant, after an obstinate persisting, even to his Highness's face, in their dislike of his government, were this week cashiered.

"My lord, I am just now called to my poor wife's

succour; therefore I must humbly entreat of your lordship leave to subscribe myself, sooner than I intended, My lord,

"Your lordship's most faithful, humble servant,

"FAUCONBERG."

Henry Cromwell, in reply, says:

"I hope your lordship's being called to succour my dear sister, your lady, tends but to repair our family of the late loss it hath sustained; and I hope that the sad apprehensions occasioned by this late stroke will not frustrate our hopes therein."

The first form in which the Protector proceeded to utilize the new connection was by sending his son-in-law on a mission of congratulation to the French Court on the successes of Louis's arms against the Spaniards in co-operation with "the Six Thousand" sent from England. During his tour in the northern counties of England, on his return from France, the Earl was accompanied by his youthful bride. All contemporaries agree in attributing a large share of beauty to Lady Fauconberg, a testimony which is fully borne out by the extant portraits of her. The return south of the Earl and Countess is thus chronicled by a weekly newspaper (*Mercurius Politicus*): "Hampton Court, 30 July. This evening here arrived the most noble lord the Lord Fauconberg, with his most illustrious lady, the Lady Mary; being safe returned out of the North, where, in all places of their journey, and particularly at York, the people of those parts made so large expression of their duty, in the honours done to the person and virtues of this most religious lady, and of their extraordinary affection towards this meritorious lord, as abundantly manifested what a high esteem his noble qualities have purchased him in his own as well as in other counties."

Only a few weeks later Fauconberg thus announces the death of the first Protector to his brother-in-law Henry:

Lord Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell.

"WHITEHALL,
"September 7, 1658.

"DEAR MY LORD,

"This bearer Mr. Underwood brings your lordship the sad news of our general loss in your incomparable father's death, by which these poor nations are deprived of the greatest personage and instrument of happiness that not only our own, but indeed any age else, ever produced. The preceding night and not before, in presence of four or five of the Council, he declared my lord Richard his successor. The next morning he grew speechless, and departed betwixt three and four in the evening. A hard dispensation it was, but so has it seemed good to the all-wise God. And what remains to poor creatures but to lay our hands upon our mouth to the declaration of His pleasure? Some three hours after his decease (a time spent only in framing the draft, not in any doubtful dispute) was your lordship's brother, his now Highness, declared Protector of these nations with full consent of council, soldier and city. The next day he was proclaimed in the usual places. All the time his late Highness was drawing on to his end, the consternation and astonishment of people is unexpressible. Their hearts seemed as sunk within them. And if thus abroad in the family, your lordship may imagine how it was with her Highness and other near relations. My poor wife, I know not what in the Earth to do with her. When seemingly quieted, she bursts out again into passion that tears her very heart in pieces; nor can I blame her, considering what she has lost. It fares little better with others. God, I trust, will sanctify this bitter cup to us all. His mercy is extraordinary as to the quiet face of things amongst us; which I hope the Lord will continue.

"I am, Your lordship's most affectionately faithful
and very humble servant,

"FAUCONBERG."

Lord Fauconberg facilitated the restoration of royalty as soon as he saw it was inevitable. To the King himself the recovery of such an agency was especially welcome; for the link which attached Fauconberg to the Cromwellian destinies carried with it an added force. With this course of action, the influence of Henry Cromwell, though less demonstrative, must needs be associated. In this they stood apart from Lockhart, whose personal alliance with some of the Republican party made him slow to believe in the possibility of such a universal revolt.

The Restoration being accomplished, Fauconberg was at once installed into the offices of Lieutenant of the Bishopric of Durham, Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the North Riding of Yorkshire, and Ambassador-Extraordinary to Venice, Tuscany, and Savoy.* He enjoyed the favour of the three succeeding monarchs, diverse as were their principles, and, dying in 1700, was buried at Cockswold, in Yorkshire, where a lengthy epitaph, recited in Le Neve's "Monumenta Anglicana," records his virtues and his prosperous career. In the construction of this epitaph it had been Lady Mary's original intention to exhibit more definitely his alliance with the Protectorate, to which end, says Lord Dartmouth, "she desired Sir Harry Sheers to write an inscription for the monument, and would have it inserted that in such a year Fauconberg married his Highness the then Lord Protector of England's daughter, which Sir Harry told her he feared might give offence. She answered, that nobody could dispute matters of fact, and therefore insisted on its being done." The wording

* Three years after the Restoration, we get a glimpse of this lady and her husband, at the play. "Here," says Samuel Pepys, "I saw my Lord Fauconberg and his lady, my Lady Mary Cromwell, who looks as well as I have known her, and well clad. But when the house began to fill, she put on her vizard, and so kept it on all the play, which of late is become a great fashion among the ladies, which hides their whole face."—Pepy's "Diary," June 12, 1663.

eventually adopted shows that she yielded somewhat to her friend's objection, though, of course, it duly sets forth whose daughter she was. Her own death occurred in 1713, at the age of seventy-six, shortly after that of her brother Richard, and she was buried at Chiswick on March 24. Sutton Court, the house in which she lived and died at Chiswick, no longer exists. It stood very near the west end of the parish church. Neither is there any monument to her in the church. J. Mackay, speaking of this spot in his "Journey through England," says: "I saw here a great and curious piece of antiquity—the eldest daughter of Oliver Cromwell, who was then fresh and gay"; date not given. Grainger, having stated that in the decline of life she was pale and sickly, adds: "Since this note was printed I had the honour to be informed by the Earl of Ilchester, who remembers her well, and to whom she was godmother, that she must have been far gone in the decline of life when she was pale and sickly, as she was not naturally of such a complexion." The testimonies as to her personal merit are uniformly eulogistic. Bishop Burnet styles her a wise and worthy woman, and one who was more likely to have maintained the post of Protector than either of her brothers. A footnote in "Hughes's Letters" describes her as "a lady of great beauty, and of a very high spirit, who distinguished herself till her death by the quickness of her wit and the solidity of her judgment." Mr. Hewling Luson, in the same volume, writes as follows: "She was said to have been a lady of a very great understanding. This was the 'noble relation' referred to in Mr. Say's character [of Mrs. Bendysh], who left Mrs. Bendysh a handsome legacy, as she did also to the other descendants of her father Oliver to whom such an aid might be useful. She died wealthy, and never had a child." She betrayed, some thought, in her last will an undue partiality for her own personal relatives, for she left everything in her power away from her husband's

kindred, including Fauconberg House in Soho Square, the town residence of the family. Some interesting relics, however, descended to the last heir of the Fauconbergs, among which was the sword worn by Oliver at the battle of Naseby. There are extant two or three letters of Lady Mary's to her brother Henry, two of which may be read in Carlisle's "Letters and Speeches." The first, addressed in 1655, and warning him against the influence of some intriguing lady, who had made a lodgment in his Irish household; the second giving a long account of their sister Frances's marriage negotiations. A third, here following, relates to the last illness of their mother, the Protectress. When that sorely-stricken lady found an asylum at Norborough House, Lady Mary was her frequent visitor, and this brief letter seems to point to the latest of those interviews:

Lady Mary Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell, of Spinney Abbey (1665?).

"DEAR BROTHER,

"I have sent this bearer on purpose to see you and my sister, fearing I shall not see you before I go from hence. My poor mother is so affecting a spectacle as I scarce know how to write, she continuing much the same as she was when you were here. The Lord knows best what is best for us to suffer, and therefore I desire we may willingly submit to His will; but the condition she is in is very sad; the Lord help her and us to bear it. I am now able to say no more, my heart being so oppressed, but that I am,

"Your dear wife's and your affectionate sister,

"M. FAUCONBERG."

CHAPTER XI.

FRANCES, THE PROTECTOR'S FOURTH DAUGHTER.

BORN at Ely in 1638, Frances was married in December, 1657, to the Hon. Robert Rich, eldest son of Lord Rich, and grandson of Robert, Earl of Warwick, the admiral of the fleet, and the veteran peer who carried Oliver's sword of State at the proclamation of his Protectorate. But this was by no means her first love affair. In the first place there seems no sufficient reason for discrediting the story of a projected alliance with the exiled King Charles, in which Lord Broghill acted as the medium of negotiation. It wears, at least, an air of greater probability than the reports [preserved in Thurloe's papers] which in 1654 were circulated in France to the effect that the Duke d'Enghein, only son of the Prince of Condé, was her favoured suitor. The Duke of Buckingham is the third name on the list, but his chances must have been slender in the extreme. Her fourth gallant was the Rev. Jeremiah White, or "Jerry White," as he was commonly called, one of her father's chaplains, and a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He is described as possessing a handsome person and an engaging address, though his extant portrait, photographed by the Arundel Society, can hardly be said to warrant the encomium. Another attribute with which

he is credited—that of a ready wit—rests possibly on better authority. Oliver put it to the test on one occasion in a somewhat crucial form. Having been given reason to suspect that his aspiring chaplain had carried his amatory professions too far, Cromwell managed to entrap the couple just at a moment when Jerry was on his knees, caressing the Lady Frances's hand. "What is the meaning of that posture before my daughter?' demanded he. Here Jerry's wit came to his aid. "May it please your Highness, I have long unsuccessfully courted the young gentlewoman yonder, my Lady's waiting-maid, and I was now therefore humbly praying her Ladyship to say a word in my behalf." Turning to the waiting-maid, Oliver went on: "Well, hussey, and why should you refuse Mr. White's offers? You must know that he is my friend, and I expect that you will treat him as such." Here the ready wit of the maiden proved smarter even than Jerry's. "If Mr. White," says she, "intends me that honour, I shall not oppose him." "Sayest thou so, lass?" rejoined Cromwell. "Call Goodwyn; this business shall be finished at once." Mr. Chaplain Goodwyn arrived; the parties were married on the spot, and Cromwell, by way of solatium, made them a present of £500.* A union effected after this fashion was not likely to be productive of much mutual regard, nor was the result felicitous, though they contrived to live together as man and wife for half a century longer. "I knew them both," says Oldmixon, the historian, "and heard the story told when Mrs. White was present, who did not contradict it, and owned there was something in it." But Jerry, though taken down in this abrupt style, always maintained a marvellous influence in the Cromwell family. Years after the Restoration, when the Protectress was living at Norborough, he was entrusted with the entire management of her pecuniary

* This scene was painted by Augustus Egg in 1842.—See the Exhibition Catalogue for that year, No. 548.

affairs. At that time he was occupying the position of chaplain in the family of Sir John Russell, of Chippenham, the Lady Frances's second husband, previous to which he had enjoyed the confidence of her father-in-law, Sir Francis Russell, as evidenced by a long and curious letter (in the possession of Mr. Field, of Teddington) which the knight sent him in 1663, touching his bodily ailments, and the benefits which he had derived from the chaplain's curative measures. Master White's talent seems to have been multifarious. He wrote an essay on universal restoration, and he gathered a list of many hundreds of the sufferers for Nonconformity.

Jerry White being checkmated, the Dutton affair next becomes prominent. Cromwell, it is assumed, had at some time entered into a verbal engagement with John Dutton, a wealthy freeholder, of Sherborne, in Gloucestershire, to bestow his daughter Frances in marriage on William Dutton, the nephew or grandson (*nepos*) of that gentleman; and in his will (dated 1655) Mr. Dutton expresses an "earnest desire that it might take effect." How Cromwell and his daughter looked upon this mode of courtship is not recorded. All we know is that, at the age of nineteen, the young lady practically waived it by falling in love with the Hon. Robert Rich aforesaid.

This young man, losing his mother at an early age, was at her dying request placed under the care of Dr. Gauden, by whose recommendation he first went to college, and with whom he then made a foreign tour. On returning home, being deeply in love with Frances Cromwell, he sought her hand at once, though at the time he was in a very sickly state of health. The marriage came off in December, 1657; it can hardly be supposed with the Protector's hearty concurrence. His disorder appears to have been of a scrofulous nature, carrying him off in the ensuing February, only two months after the wedding. His grandfather, the old Earl of Warwick, when he heard

of it, said that, if they would keep the body above ground a little while, they might carry his own along with it; and, indeed, he survived only two months longer. To complete the tragedy, Mr. Rich's father, who succeeded to the Earldom, followed his father and his son in the course of the next year.

The collapse of this matrimonial connection was deeply felt by all parties concerned; for the mutual friendship of the two houses was of long standing, dating back to associations connected with Felsted, where the family of Rich was seated, and ratified by political sympathies during the recent war. Henry undertook to send a message of condolence to Christian, Countess of Devonshire, the grandmother of the deceased, and Oliver performed the same office to the Earl of Warwick. The Earl's letter in reply, which contained a noble tribute to the character of the Protector, may be seen entire in Dr. William Harris's "Life of Oliver." It concludes: "Others' goodness is their own. Yours is a whole country's—yea, three kingdoms', for which you justly possess interest and renown with wise and good men. Virtue is a thousand escutcheons. Go on, my lord—go on happily to love religion, to exemplify it. May your lordship long continue an instrument of use, a pattern of virtue, and a precedent of glory."

Rich's funeral was conducted with great pomp on March 5, 1658, the corpse being carried to Felsted for interment in the family vault, and the funeral sermon delivered by Dr. Gauden. Of all the extant specimens of that dreary species of literature, the funeral sermon, this of Gauden's is one of the most nauseous.

On May 7, 1663, the young widow, the Lady Frances, was married at Hursley to Sir John Russell, third baronet, of Chippenham, co. Cambridge, and by him became the ancestress of numerous and wide-spreading groups of Cromwellian descendants. In the interval between her

first and second marriage she may have been residing at Hursley with Dorothy, the wife of the ex-Protector, Richard. She survived her second husband fifty-one years, spending a considerable portion of her later life with her sister, Lady Fauconberg. Finally she outlived all those of her own generation, and died in 1721 at the age of eighty-four.

The Family of Russell

First became conspicuous in the person of Thomas Russell, of the Isle of Wight, in Henry VI.'s time. The baronet of the Civil War period, viz., Sir Francis, was an ardent supporter of the Parliament's cause, a man of high morality and humanity, and a personal friend of Oliver. Of his fourteen children, besides his eldest son John, who married Frances Cromwell, Elizabeth married Henry Cromwell, the Protector's fourth son, and Sarah married Sir John Reynolds, of whom larger notice will have to be taken. The issue of the Lady Frances Cromwell by Sir John Russell consisted of five children, viz:

I. Sir William, the fourth Baronet, of whom presently.

II. Rich, baptized at Chippenham, Cambs., February 14, 1667, was the fourth child and second son. He married, first, at Fordham, Cambs., April 5, 1693, his cousin Mabel. She died January 5, 1731, and was buried at Hillingdon, Middlesex, leaving issue one only child, a daughter Mary, who married, 1731, at Hillingdon (as his second wife), the Rev. Richard Mills, Vicar of Hillingdon, by whom she left issue (*inter alios*), Rev. Thomas Mills, also Vicar of Hillingdon, who was baptized (see Hillingdon registers) June, 1738. These two vicars held the living between them eighty-six years, although it was not a family living. Rich married, secondly, at St. George's, Hanover Square, October 28, 1732, Catherine Barton, spinster, who survived him and proved his will. Rich

was a General in the army, and, according to the inscription still legible on his tombstone at Hillingdon, served his King and country forty-seven years. He died at Bath (see *Gentleman's Magazine*) June 16, 1735, but was buried in his family tomb at Hillingdon. His will was proved in London February 6, 1735 (25 Denby, i. 46). His only living descendants trace their descent from him through his daughter, Mrs. Richard Mills. She is referred to as a legatee in the wills of her father, of her grandmother, Dame Frances Russell, the daughter of the Protector, and of her cousin, Miss Elizabeth Cromwell. The Rev. Thomas Mills left issue (*inter alios*) Frederick Russell Mills, Esq., formerly Librarian of the Home Office and private secretary to Lord Sidmouth while Home Secretary. Mr. F. R. Mills died August 8, 1861, aged seventy-nine, leaving numerous issue still surviving, including the heir-at-law of Rich Russell. The Rev. Thos. Mills' youngest son was Richard Mills, Esq., one of the Taxing Masters of the Court of Chancery, who died at his residence, the Moat, Eltham, Kent, April 21, 1880, aged ninety-four, leaving numerous issue. The Mills family trace their descent from Betham, in the parish of Penkridge, Staffordshire, where they were established in and prior to the year 1490 (see Visitation of London, 1633, title Mills).

III. Christian, a daughter so named in memory of Christian, Countess of Devonshire aforesaid. She died in childhood in 1669.

IV. Elizabeth, born 1664, became the wife of Sir Thomas Frankland, of whom presently.

V. John, third and posthumous son; Governor of Fort William, in Bengal; died at Bath 1735, having married, first, Rebecca, sister of Sir Charles Eyre, of Kew, by whom he had one son and three daughters. He married, secondly, Joanna, sole daughter and heiress of Mr. Thurlbone, of the Chequers, Bucks, sergeant at law. The children of the first marriage were:

1. Frances, born 1700; died 1775; bedchamber-woman to the Princess Amelia. Married John, son of Colonel Rivett of the Guards, but leaving no issue, his estate of the Chequers passed to his sister Mary, who, as will be seen presently, married Charles Russell.

2. Charles, born 1701, died 1754, was a Colonel in the army; fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy; married, 1737, Mary Joanna Cutts, daughter of Colonel Rivett aforesaid, who became the heiress of Chequers, and by whom he had, besides Mary [bedchamber-woman to the Princess Amelia after her aunt Fanny (?)] one son, John, eventually the eighth Baronet.

3. Mary, married a Mr. Holmes. No issue.

4. Elizabeth, born 1704; married Samuel Greenhill, of Swincombe, Oxford, and had issue, John Russell Greenhill, LL.D., of Cottesford House, Oxford, who took the Russell estates under the will of the ninth baronet. He married Elizabeth, only child of M. Noble, of Sunderland, Esq., and had a son, Robert, created a Baronet by Lord Grey in 1831, at whose death, *s.p.*, in 1836, the property passed by his will to Sir Robert Frankland, who thereupon assumed the surname of Russell in addition to and after that of Frankland.

Sir John Russell, the third Baronet, husband of the Lady Frances Cromwell, was succeeded by his son,

Sir William Russell, the fourth Baronet; born about 1660, whose lavish expenditure in furtherance of the Revolution of 1688 is supposed to have been the occasion of his selling the Chippenham Manor to the Earl of Orford. He died in 1725, leaving two sons.

Sir William Russell, the fifth Baronet, dying unmarried in 1738 at Passage, near Waterford, was succeeded by his brother,

Sir Francis Russell, the sixth Baronet; Governor of Fort William, in Bengal; married, 1725, Ann Gee, and left one son,

Sir William Russell, the seventh Baronet; Lieutenant in the Guards; died a bachelor in 1757, when the title descended to his second cousin, mentioned above, viz.:

Sir John Russell, the eighth Baronet; barrister at law, of Lincoln's Inn. He died prematurely, 1783, at the age of forty-two, at the seat of Sir Henry Oxenden, in Kent, from inflammation of the bowels occasioned by eating melons, and was much lamented as a kind and generous man. His wife was Katharine, daughter of General the Hon. Henry Carey, brother to Lord Falkland, by whom he had two sons, the elder of whom,

Sir John Russell, the ninth Baronet, born 1779, died unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother,

Sir George Russell, the tenth Baronet, who dying unmarried in 1804, the title expired, and the estates devolved under his brother's will upon their aunt Mary (mentioned under the third baronetcy). This lady died unmarried, and was succeeded in her possessions by her cousin, Dr. John Russell Greenhill, of Cottesford House aforesaid.

Family of Frankland.

Elizabeth, second daughter of the Lady Frances Cromwell and Sir John Russell, of Chippenham, married Sir Thomas Frankland, of Thirkleby, Yorks, Bart., eldest son and heir of Sir William Frankland by Arabella Bellasyse, sister to Viscount Fauconberg (the husband of Mary Cromwell). Consequently Fauconberg was uncle both to the bride and to the bridegroom, and so much interest did he feel in this alliance that he settled divers estates on Frankland, to which was added by bequest the house at Chiswick. Sir Thomas Frankland, who repre-

sented Thirsk in Parliament, and was Postmaster-General, is thus notified in 1713: "He is chief of a very good family in Yorkshire, with a very good estate. His being my Lord Fauconberg's nephew, and marrying a granddaughter of Oliver Cromwell, first recommended him to King William, who at the Revolution made him Commissioner of the Excise, and some years after Governor of the Post-Office. By abundance of application he understands that office better than any man in England, and is adapted for greater matters when the Government shall think fit to employ him. The Queen, by reason of his great capacity and honesty, hath continued him in the office of Postmaster. He is a gentleman of a very sweet, easy, affable disposition — a handsome man, of middle stature, towards forty years old." By his lady, Elizabeth Russell, who died 1733, he had seven sons and three daughters:

I. Thomas, the third Baronet, of whom presently.

II. William, F.R.S., page to Queen Mary II. His children died young.

III. John, died at Hamburgh.

IV. Henry, of Mattersea, Notts; acquired property in India, and died there 1728. By his wife Mary, daughter of Alexander Cross, he had issue:

1. Charles Henry, fourth Baronet, of whom hereafter.

2. Thomas, fifth Baronet, of whom hereafter.

3, 4, 5, 6. William, Richard, Robert, Harriet, died young or unmarried.

7. Frederick, a Major in the Blues; died at Lisbon 1752, having married Melissa, daughter of Rev. Mr. Laying, by whom he had a daughter married to Peniston Powney, Esq. She died 1774, leaving a daughter, Melissa.

V. Richard, D.C.L., of Jesus College, Camb., died 1761.

VI. Frederick Meinhardt, barrister at law; M.P. for Thirsk; died 1768, having married, first, Anne, relict of Adam Cardonnel, whose children died young, except Anne, wife of Thomas, Lord Pelham, of whom hereafter. He married, secondly, Anne Lumley, daughter of Richard, first Earl of Scarborough, the "Lady Anne Frankland" who, together with her sisters, Lady Barbara Leigh and Lady Henrietta Lumley, were, by their mutual friend, the Countess of Huntingdon, brought under the influence of George Whitefield's preaching. But so highly did Mr. Frankland resent the affair that he compelled his wife to quit his house, and returned her fortune. She survived the heart-breaking ordeal only eight months.

VII. Robert, a trader at Calcutta, slain in the Persian Gulf.

VIII. Elizabeth, married to Roger Talbot, of Woodend, Yorks, of whom hereafter.

IX. Frances (or Mary), married to Thomas Worsley, of whom hereafter.

X. Arabella, died unmarried.

Sir Thomas Frankland died in 1726, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

Sir Thomas Frankland, the third Baronet; M.P. for Thirsk in five Parliaments, and a lord of the Admiralty. By his wife Diana, daughter of Francis Topham, of Agelthorpe, he had (*inter alios*) a daughter, Diana, who became wife of George Henry Lee, Earl of Lichfield. Sir Thomas married, secondly, Anne, daughter of a Huguenot refugee named Réné Baudouin. After Sir Thomas's early death in 1747, the widow married Adam Cardonnel, at whose death Frederick Meinhardt Frankland, a younger brother of Sir Thomas, became guardian and trustee for her children. He did more than this: he became her third husband. She had thus married two brothers, but Adam Cardonnel coming between, she is always described in the Peerages as Cardonnel's relict, and by this means

her marriage with Sir Thomas conveniently drops out of sight. At Sir Thomas's death, in 1747, the title passed to his nephew,

Sir Charles Henry Frankland, the fourth Baronet; born in Bengal in 1716, at the time of his father's residence there as Governor of the East India Company's factory. Although by that father's death he inherited a considerable fortune, yet the lucrative post of Collector in the port of Boston, in New England, which he obtained through the Duke of Newcastle, had sufficient attractions to induce him to make that colony the place of his residence for the greater part of his after-life. He went over there in 1741, at the age of twenty-five, soon after which, while on a visit of inspection to the neighbouring seaport of Marblehead, where the home Government had resolved to erect a fortification, he met the young woman whose fascinations were destined to give that colouring to his history, of which more than one writer of American romance has availed himself. This young woman was the celebrated Agnes Surriage, then sixteen years of age, of obscure birth, being the daughter of a fisherman, but gifted with the heritage of dazzling beauty. Her mother, it is true, had a nominal claim to one-seventh part of a vast tract of land in Maine, which fell to her on the death of her father, Richard Pierce, of New Harbour, one of the sharers in what was long known and litigated as "the Brown right" (the title to which seventh part Sir C. H. Frankland subsequently purchased of the widow Surriage for £50), and it must have been this circumstance which led Mark Noble and the other genealogists to give the name of Agnes Brown instead of Agnes Surriage as Frankland's wife. But whatever the prospects in Maine might be worth, the daughter had received no education, and she was accordingly placed for the present under the tutelage and protection of Edward Holyoake, the Puritan minister of the place.

Frankland, whose tastes were those of a general *dilettante*, but found their best expression in architecture and horticulture, purchased an estate in the suburban village of Hopkinton, and erected a vast and classic mansion, which for some years became the scene of lawless revelry, greatly to the scandal of the old-fashioned Puritans of Boston.

Charles Henry Frankland, by the death of his uncle, Sir Thomas, was called home to carry on a suit at law, in which the will of this uncle, bequeathing the entire estate at Thirkleby to his lady, was contested. The *Gentleman's Magazine* thus reports the facts: "June 4, 1754. A cause between Sir Henry Frankland, plaintiff, and the lady of the late Sir Thomas, defendant, was tried in the Court of King's Bench by a special jury. The subject of litigation was a will of Sir Thomas, suspected to be made when he was not of sound mind; and it appeared that he had made three—one in 1741, another in 1744, and a third in 1746. In the first only a slender provision was made for his lady, by the second the family estate in Yorkshire, of £2,000 per annum, was given her for her life, and by the third the whole estate real and personal was left to be disposed of at her discretion without any provision for the heir at law. The jury, after having withdrawn for about an hour and a half, set aside the last and confirmed the second. In a hearing before the Lord Chancellor some time afterwards in relation to the costs, it was decreed that the lady should pay them all, both at common law and in Chancery."

On this occasion he was accompanied to England by Agnes Surriage; and on the conclusion of the law affair, they made the tour of Europe together, and took up a temporary abode in Lisbon, furnishing a house there, and joining in the dissipations of that doomed city. This brings us to what Frankland's biographer justly terms the catastrophe and turning point of his life. Hitherto he had

led the life of a voluptuary and a sceptic. Henceforward his career was that of one stunned into modesty and repentance.

The first of November, 1755, will ever be a memorable date in the annals of Europe, and especially of Lisbon. In that city, which then contained nearly a quarter of a million of inhabitants, a brilliant morning sun was shining on the papal festivities of All Saints' Day. At eleven o'clock high mass at thirty churches was quenched in universal collapse. The earthquake was sensibly felt all over western Europe, northern Africa, and even in the West Indies; but the catastrophe wrought its climax in Lisbon, where the convulsed bed of the Tagus lifted for some minutes all its shipping high and dry, to be overwhelmed immediately after by a refluent rush of waters, which fairly turned the harbour-quay bottom upwards and then swallowed it out of sight. Of the thousands of fugitives who had sought safety at that spot not a corpse ever rose to the surface. The loss of human life in the city was estimated at nearly 30,000, and the loss of property at £95,000,000. Sir Henry Frankland, attired in Court dress and in company with a lady, was on his way to one of the church spectacles, in a carriage and pair, when his vehicle was crushed by falling ruins and the horses killed. While thus entombed, his companion, in her frantic despair, seized his arm with her teeth and tore away a portion of the flesh. What became of her is not stated. As for Frankland himself, the dark horrors of the hour brought the delinquencies of his past life into startling review, and wrung from him vows of total reformation of life, and ample retribution to all whom he had ever injured, if deliverance were now vouchsafed to him—vows which there is good reason to believe he never forgot. Meanwhile his devoted Agnes was traversing the ruined streets in search of him; and recognising at last the plaintive voice which issued from his living tomb, she

accomplished his deliverance in no long time by lavish rewards distributed to her assistants. His wounds being dressed, he was conveyed to Belem, a suburb of Lisbon, where his first action on recovery was to formalize his marriage with his deliverer, by the hands of a Romish priest. As his own house in Lisbon was wrecked, it was resolved at once to embark for England; and on board ship the union was again ratified by the services of an Anglican clergyman. On landing, the now sobered and chastened couple proceeded to the family seat, where Agnes was affectionately welcomed by her mother-in-law.

Although Sir Henry two years later was formally appointed to the office of Consul-General at Lisbon, the attractions of Hopkinton again and again induced him and his lady to be backwards and forwards across the Atlantic, till his health breaking down prematurely compelled him to retire to Bath, where he died in 1768, aged fifty-one years. He was buried in the church of the neighbouring village of Weston, where the following epitaph may be seen against the wall of the nave.

"To the memory of Sir Charles-Henry Frankland of Thirkleby, Co. York, bart., Consul-General for many years at Lisbon, from whence he came in hopes of recovery from a bad state of health to Bath, where after a tedious and painful illness, sustained with the patience and resignation becoming a Christian, he died January 11, 1768, in the fifty-second year of his life, without issue; and at his own desire he lies buried in this church. This monument is erected by his affectionate widow, Agnes Lady Frankland."

On the death of her husband, Lady Frankland, in company with Henry Cromwell, returned to the Hopkinton estate, and there she cherished her relatives and maintained a magnificent style of housekeeping till the breaking out of the war of Independence in 1775. As

the rich widow of a prominent officer of the Crown, her solitary position was felt to be no longer tenable, and accordingly she and Henry took refuge in Boston, then occupied by British troops. From the windows of her house in Garden Court Street she witnessed, with many others, the storming of Bunker's Hill, and afterwards busied herself in succouring the wounded men as they were brought in from the bloody field. The last of her many voyages was then carried into effect, the succeeding seven years of her life being spent in old England among the members of the Frankland family, till her removal to Chichester on becoming the wife of John Drew, a banker of that city, the same place where Henry Cromwell also appears to have settled. She died in the course of the next year, 1783, at the age of fifty-seven, and was buried at Chichester.

Captain Henry Cromwell, an illegitimate son of Sir C. H. Frankland, whose name has occasionally cropped up in the above narrative, was born in 1741, the first year of his father's residence in New England. At the age of fifteen he commenced his naval career by joining his Majesty's ship *Success*, Captain Rouse, then lying in Casco Bay, yet found or made frequent occasions for visiting and travelling about with his father; Lady Frankland on her part ever cherishing a fond regard for him, though she was not his mother. He was also held in high esteem in the Navy, where, holding the rank of Captain, he was present with Admiral Kempenfeldt in the gallant action off the French coast, November 14, 1781. In the promotion list for 1801 Henry Cromwell, Esq., becomes Rear Admiral of the Blue, and in 1805 he is Rear Admiral of the Red. A monument to his memory, and to one of his daughters, may be seen in Chichester Cathedral.

Sir Thomas Frankland, who on the death, in 1768, of his brother, Sir Charles Henry Frankland, succeeded as fifth baronet, was already known as a naval officer of

distinction. He was now holding the rank of Admiral of the Red, and he eventually attained to the White. He was only twenty-two when he obtained the command of the *Rose* frigate, appointed to carry out to the Bahamas Mr. Tinker, the new Governor of those islands. Remaining on that station as a check to the Spanish marauders termed "guarda-costas," he had the good fortune to fall in with one of them soon after it had made three prizes —this was in June, 1742. The guarda-costa, supported by two of her prizes, fought the English frigate for nearly three hours, till, the prizes thinking it more prudent to stand off, the two principal combatants had a running fight all to themselves. In the course of another hour the Spanish colours were hauled down, in opposition to their captain's orders; and Frankland, having shifted his prisoners with all possible speed, went in pursuit of the three flying prizes. In the end, they were all gathered and carried to Carolina, when it became apparent why the Spanish captain had maintained so obstinate a fight. He turned out to be the notorious Fandino, who some years previously had cut off the ear of Captain Jenkins. Frankland, sharing in the general indignation which that action had aroused throughout England, and regarding his prisoner as one who merited nothing short of a pirate's doom, refused to release him on parole or to exchange him, and accordingly shipped him off to be judged in England.

He continued some years longer on the same station, guarding the newly-formed settlements of Georgia and Carolina; and in 1743 he married Sarah Rhett, daughter of the Chief Justice and Governor of South Carolina, by whom he had five sons and eight daughters. Miss Rhett was a highly gifted woman, and it was the opinion of the late Sir Thomas Frankland Lewis that from her were derived those powers of understanding which distinguished the next generation of Franklands. Immediately after his

marriage, Captain Frankland sailed into Boston harbour to pay a visit to his brother, Sir Charles Henry Frankland.

In the following year, while cruising off the north side of Cuba, Captain Frankland found himself one dark December morning under the shadow of a large Spanish ship—the *Conception*—crowded with soldiers for Havana. He kept to windward till daybreak, and at seven began an engagement which lasted five hours, with a fresh gale and a heavy sea. Three or four times did he put himself alongside the enemy before she would strike, and when the combat ceased at half-past twelve, it was found that she had nearly a hundred men killed outright. The *Rose*, on the other hand, which went into action with only 177 men and boys, had five killed besides the wounded. The prize was carried to South Carolina, and found to contain 310,000 pieces of eight and 5,000 oz. of gold in passengers' money.

On the termination of the war in 1748, our sea-rover came home and took his place in Parliament for the family borough of Thirsk, and died at Bath in 1784, in his sixty-seventh year.

Admiral Frankland always nursed with pardonable pride the fact of his descent from the Protector Oliver; and he seems to have entertained the further belief that he resembled him in person. The Admiral's surviving children were as follows:

I. Thomas, the sixth baronet, of whom presently.

II. William, who died, unmarried, in 1816. He was a barrister at law, attending the northern circuit, became Attorney-General of the Isle of Man, Lieutenant-Colonel of the North York Militia, M.P. for Thirsk, and a lord of the Admiralty under Lord Grenville's administration in 1806. He is often named in the memoirs of Romilly and Macintosh; and it was thought by the late Sir Thomas Frankland Lewis that of all Oliver's descendants with

whom he had come in contact, William Frankland was the ablest and best informed, always excepting the late Earl of Clarendon. But for some original traits of fancy, which certain of his friends deemed eccentric, it was generally felt that he might have been one of the leading thinkers of his day. During the short peace he accompanied his friend, Sir James Macintosh, to Paris, when an introduction to the First Consul was arranged, Bonaparte being desirous of offering his personal compliments to Sir James as the author of the "Vindiciæ Gallicæ." But some mistake in names occurring, Bonaparte advanced towards the wrong man, and began pouring into Mr. Frankland's ear those praises for philanthropy and philosophical acumen which were intended for his friend. What completed Mr. Frankland's embarrassment was that his defective French rendered him unable to correct the error. When it came to Macintosh's turn to hold colloquy with the great man, the conversation dropped down to the conventional topics current at courts, unless we except the question, which Napoleon is said to have asked Macintosh and Erskine, whether either of them had ever been Lord Mayor of London.

III. ROGER, Canon-residentiary of Wells, Rector of Yarlington, and Vicar of Dulvington, both in Somerset; died in 1826. Like his brother William, he was a man of considerable ability. By his wife Katharine, daughter of John, seventh Lord Colville of Culross, and sister to Vice-Admiral Lord Colville, he had twelve children.

1. Frederick William, the eighth baronet, of whom hereafter.

2. Rear-Admiral Edward Augustus, born 1794; entered the sea service as midshipman on board the *Repulse*. For some time he was secretary to his cousin, Commander Bowles, on the South American station. Died unmarried at Florence, in 1862.

3. Emma, married W. Chaplin, Esq., of the Madras civil service; died at Ramsgate, 1825.

4. Admiral Charles Colville, began as midshipman in the *Aquilon*, commanded by his cousin, Captain William Bowles, who made him lieutenant into the *Andromache*. After attaining the rank of Commander, he became an extensive traveller in Europe and Asia Minor, the narratives of which, illustrated by sketches, were published in 1827 and 1832. He died, unmarried, at Bath, in 1876, aged seventy-nine.

5. Matilda, died at Bath in 1819, having in the previous year married Lieutenant-Colonel W. Robison, 24th Foot.

6. George, Lieutenant 65th Foot; died in Van Dieman's Land, 1838. In 1822 he had married Anne, daughter of Thomas Mason, Esq., and had issue: (1) Sophia Katharine, twice married; (2) Georgina Ann, married J. T. Francis, Esq.; (3) Augustus Charles, killed in 1857 at the battle of Kooshab. His wife was Clara, daughter of H. Williams, Esq.

7. Katharine Henrietta, married to Mr. Carey, still living in 1878.

8. Octavia, married to Mr. Montgomery; died 1868, aged sixty-two.

9. Louisa, died in childhood, 1814.

10. Arthur, bore the title of Colonial Aide-de-camp at the Mauritius. He was a Captain in the army, and died unmarried, 1843.

11. Sophia, died unmarried at Nice in 1837.

12. Albert Henry, died in infancy.

IV. Mary, eldest daughter of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland; married, in 1778, Sir Boyle Roche, Bart., of Fermoy, in Ireland, grandson of Dominick Roche, a partizan of James II.

V. Sarah, second daughter of Admiral Frankland; died young.

VI. HARRIET, third daughter; died unmarried.

VII. ANNE, fourth daughter; became, in 1778, second wife to John Lewis, of Harpton Court, Radnor; and, surviving him, married secondly, 1811, Rev. Robert Hare, of Hurstmonceaux, in Sussex, and died 1842.

Family of Lewis.

By her first marriage, the children of Anne Frankland were one son—Thomas Frankland—and two daughters—Anne and Louisa, who both died unmarried. Mr. Lewis died in 1797, and was succeeded by his son,

The RIGHT HON. SIR THOMAS FRANKLAND LEWIS; born 1780, educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxon.; Privy Councillor and M.P. He had filled a variety of offices before he consented, under Lord Grey's administration, to be placed on the Poor Law Commission, the chairmanship of which he fulfilled with great efficiency from 1834 to 1839. The Rev. Sidney Smith, writing to Sir William Horton in 1835, says: "Frankland Lewis is filling his station of King of the Paupers extremely well. They have already worked wonders; but of all occupations it must be the most disagreeable." And again to the same person: "Our friend Frankland Lewis is gaining great and deserved reputation by his administration of the Poor Laws, one of the best and boldest measures which ever emanated from any Government." Sir Thomas died in January, 1855, after only two days' illness, having taken a chill whilst shooting in very severe weather. The patent of his baronetcy is dated June 27, 1846. He married first, in 1805, Harriet, fourth daughter of Sir George Cornewall, of Moccas Court, Hereford, by whom he had two sons—George Cornewall and Gilbert Frankland; he married secondly, in 1839, the daughter of the late John Ashton, Esq., a captain in the Horse Guards Blue.

SIR GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS, second baronet; born 1806; educated at Eton and at Christchurch, Oxon.,

where he gained a first-class in classics and a second in mathematics. From the obscurity of his Middle Temple chambers he emerged in 1835 into the professional distinction of a Government Commissioner, though he did not enter Parliament till the General Election of 1847, and Lord John Russell being then in power, Mr. Cornewall Lewis found himself forthwith installed in the office of Secretary to the Board of Control. That Whig Government fell in 1851, and Mr. Lewis lost his seat, till the death of his father gave him the family honour of representing the Radnor boroughs. His return to Parliament was signalized by his appointment to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and that, too, at a very critical period (during the Crimean war with Russia), when Mr. Gladstone's retirement from the Palmerston Ministry created a void which no one seemed capable of filling.

His death took place in 1863 at his country-seat of Harpton Court, whither he had retired during the Parliamentary vacation to obtain a brief rest from official duties.

Sir George was succeeded by his only brother,

Sir Gilbert Frankland Lewis, the third baronet, M.A., prebendary of Worcester, rural dean, rector of Mornington on the Wye, Hereford; born 1808; married 1843, Jane, eldest daughter of Sir Edmund Antrobus, bart., and had issue: (1) Edward Frankland, died 1848; (2) Herbert Edmund Frankland, born 1846; (3) Lindsay Frankland, died young; (4) Mary Anna; (5) Eleanor.

VIII. Dinah, fifth daughter of Admiral Frankland; born 1757; became in 1779 the wife of William Bowles, of Heale House, near Stonehenge, in Wiltshire, by whom she had ten children.

Family of Bowles.

Mr. Bowles being a member of Earl Shelburne's Wilts Reform Association, his name is constantly found in con-

junction with those of Lord Radnor, Lord Abingdon, Charles James Fox, Awdry Wyndham, and others of that country party who, in the county meetings held in Devizes from time to time, denounced the extravagance of the public expenditure, the American war, and the ever-augmenting pension-list. Yet, in spite of his Whiggism, Mr. Bowles included Dr. Samuel Johnson among his personal friends, and a visit which was paid to Heale House by the Doctor in 1783 constitutes an episode in his family history, linking it with still older historical associations.

Mr. Bowles died in 1839. His children were:

I. Sir William Bowles, K.C.B., and admiral of the fleet; was born at Heale House in 1780. He entered the navy at the age of sixteen, and was present in the expedition to Copenhagen, and afterwards in that against the Spanish ports. In 1812, while commanding the *Aquilon*, Captain Bowles, assisted by Captain David Latimer St. Clair, of the *Sheldrake*, had to execute the disastrous office of destroying seven large English merchant-ships, laden with hemp, which had run ashore in a fog near Stralsund. As 1,500 French soldiers were posted on a neighbouring cliff, from which they could sweep the decks of the merchantmen, it was manifestly impracticable to bring them off. Their destruction therefore was accomplished by approaching each ship in succession on the off side, scuttling her on that side, and then setting her on fire. In 1820 Captain Bowles controlled the South American station, and twice received complimentary addresses from the British merchants of Buenos Ayres, the latter memorial being accompanied with a present of plate. In 1822 he was appointed Controller-General of the coastguard of England and Ireland, which office he held till advanced to the rank of Rear Admiral in 1841. He became Admiral of the Fleet in 1869. In 1820 he had married the Hon. Frances Temple, sister of the late Lord Palmerston. His death

occurred on July 2, 1869, at his residence, 21, Hill Street, Berkeley Square, in the ninetieth year of his age, just when he had reached his highest grade.

II. Sir George; born 1787; a General in the army, and G.C.B.; served in Germany, the Peninsula, Flanders, and France; Military Secretary to the Duke of Richmond in Canada and Jamaica; Commander of Lower Canada during the rebellion of 1838; Master of the Queen's household in 1845; M.P. for Launceston, 1844; Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1851; Colonel of the First West India Regiment, 1855; died unmarried, 1876.

III. Thomas Henry, barrister-at-law; died unmarried at the Cape of Good Hope in 1868.

IV. Anne; married in 1805 to Dr. Fowler, of Salisbury, and died 1878, aged ninety-six, when this branch of the Bowles family became extinct, and the great wealth that she inherited from her brothers went to the Salisbury Infirmary.

V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X. Lucy, Charlotte, Harriet, Katharine, Amelia, and Augusta, died young or unmarried.

Family of Whinyates.

Katharine, sixth daughter of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland; married in 1777 Major Thomas Whinyates, of Abbotsleigh, Devon, of the second Dragoon Guards, and afterwards of the East India service, and had six sons and nine daughters.

I. Thomas, a most intrepid sea-captain; born in 1778; entered the navy at the age of fifteen; was present at the storming of Fort Royal, Martinique, March, 1794; in Bridport's action off Port L'Orient with the Brest fleet, June 23, 1795; in Warren's action in Donegal Bay, October 12, 1798, with the French squadron for the invasion of Ireland, on which occasion he fought in the *Robust*, 74, which captured the *La Hoche*, of 80 guns.

He commanded the *Frolic* at the capture of Guadaloupe, Martinique, and St. Martin's, 1809-1810. He became Rear Admiral in 1846. The five clasps of Admiral Whinyate's war-medal record his valour at (1) Guadaloupe; (2) Martinique; (3) in Warren's action; (4) in Bridport's; (5) for boat service at the storming of Fort Royal, Martinique. He died unmarried in 1857, aged seventy-nine.

II. Russell Manners Mertolu, so named in memory of his birth, in 1780, at Mertolu, a Portuguese town in the Alentejo, at a time when his parents were prisoners of war. He died at Brighton in 1788.

III. Sir Edward Charles Whinyates, K.C.B. and K.H. This distinguished soldier, born in 1782, was educated at Dr. Newcome's school, Hackney, and at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. He entered the army in 1798 as Second Lieutenant in the Artillery, and was with Sir Ralph Abercrombie at the landing of the Helder, and under the Duke of York in the campaign of North Holland. In 1807 he was at the siege and capture of Copenhagen under Lord Cathcart. From 1810 to 1813 he fought in the Peninsula, sharing in many an arduous action, and being generally found in the advance or rear guards, for which services he received the Peninsula medal, with two clasps for Busaco and Albuera. At Waterloo, where he was severely wounded in the left arm, he commanded the second Rocket Troop, R.H.A., and during the three following years remained with the army of occupation in France. A brevet majority and a medal were the rewards of his conduct at Waterloo. General Whinyates married in 1827 Elizabeth, only daughter of Samuel Crompton, of Woodend, Yorks, Esq., which lady died in childbirth in the following year. His own decease took place in 1865 at his residence, Dorset Villa, Cheltenham.

IV. George Burrington Whinyates, Captain in the

royal navy; born in 1783, and educated at Dr. Newcome's school; commenced service at the age of fourteen; and in 1806 was at the fight of San Domingo, when Admiral Duckworth took or destroyed four sail of the line. In the Hon. Robert Stopford's ship, the *Spencer*, 74, Mr. Whinyates was serving as Lieutenant, ignorant of the fact that he had already been promoted to a Captaincy. The *Spencer* captured the *Alexandre*, 80. The last ship he commanded was the *Bergère* sloop of war of 18 guns. He died of consumption, unmarried, at the age of twenty-five.

V. Major-General Frederick William Whinyates of the Royal Engineers; married at Harpton Court in 1830 Sarah Marianne Whalley, and had eight children.

1. Harriet, died in infancy, 1830.
2. Emily Marianne, died at the age of four.
3. Frederick Thomas, Lieutenant-Colonel Royal Horse Artillery; married, 1872, Constance, fifth daughter of Matthew Bell, of Bourne Park, Canterbury, Esq.
4. Edward Henry, of Trinity College, Oxon, curate at East Hampstead, Berks.
5. Francis Arthur, Major, commanding the C. Battery, A. Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery.
6. Albert William Orme, Captain Royal Artillery; married, 1868, Margaret Williams, only daughter of Major-General William Dunn, R.A.; died 1878, aged thirty-seven.
7. Amy Octavia.
8. Charles Elidon, Captain in 52nd Light Infantry. Died at Mentone in 1872, aged twenty-six.

VI. General Francis Frankland Whinyates, of the Madras Artillery; married, 1826, Elizabeth Campbell, of Ormisdale, co. Argyle. Died at Bath, 1887, aged ninety years.

VII. Sarah Anne Catherina, died in 1860, having married, first, in 1803, Lieutenant James Robertson, of the Bengal Engineers; and secondly, in 1811, Captain Robert Younghusband, of her Majesty's 53rd Regiment. Her children by the first marriage were: James Alexander, who died in 1828; and Sarah Mary Emily, married, 1833, to Major Chalmer of the 7th Dragoon Guards, and had nine children. Mrs. Chalmer died in 1850; her husband in 1868. The issue was:

1. Anna.
2. Emily Eliza; married, 1870, to Captain P. Cox, and has a son.
3. Catharine Frances, died 1896.
4. Charlotte Amy Rachel; married, 1875, to Mr. Percy P. Lysaght.
5. Georgina Isabella, infant.
6. Gilbert Stirling, Captain in the Blues; married, 1873, to the Hon. Norah Westenra; has a son, Henry Francis.
7. Reginald, Captain 60th Rifles.
8. George, Captain 92nd Highlanders.
9. Francis, Lieutenant R.N., retired.

VIII. Amy, died unmarried, 1875, aged ninety.

IX. Rachel, died unmarried, 1858.

X. Ellen Margaret, died in infancy, 1788.

XI. Isabella Jane, died unmarried, 1868.

XII. Mercy, died in infancy in 1790.

XIII. Caroline Charlotte, died in infancy in 1796.

XIV. Octavia, married William Christmas, of Whitfield, co. Waterford, who died 1867.

XV. Letitia, died unmarried in 1862.

This brings down to present times the history of the fighting race of the Whinyates, who, since their union with Admiral Frankland's daughter Katharine, have furnished fourteen conspicuous names to the two Services.

Family of Nicholas.

CHARLOTTE, seventh daughter of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland; married, in 1778, Robert, elder son of Dr. Edward Richmond Nicholas, of Roundway Park, Devizes, described in an obituary notice in the *Salisbury Journal* of 1770 as "an eminent physician of Devizes," where the family had long flourished. Nicholas memorials are found in the parishes of St. John and St. Mary, Devizes, Southbroom St. James, Devizes, Bishops Cannings, All Cannings, Winterbourn Earls, and Manningford Bruce. His wife Charlotte having died in 1800, he married secondly, in 1805, Anne (died 1873), daughter of John Shepherd Clark, Esq., and by her had, with many other children, Major Griffin Nicholas* of the 62nd, or Wiltshire regiment, the present head of the family and claimant of the barony of De la Roche aforesaid; born in 1813, and now, 1879, resident at Hounslow. He died in 1826 at Clifton, whence his body was brought to Ashton-Keynes. The children by his two marriages were eighteen in number, all the sons dying childless; those descending from Miss Frankland being as follows:

I. EDWARD, Chargé d'affaires at Hamburgh, latterly Governor of Heligoland, and a Dutch merchant; born 1779; died 1828.

II. ROBERT, a daring naval officer, who lost his life at sea, August 3, 1810, just as he was made post-captain into the *Garland*. The catastrophe occurred on board the *Lark*, which foundered off San Domingo in one of the white squalls peculiar to that station.†

* Author of "Genealogical Memoranda Relating to the Family of Nicholas."

† On a silver soup tureen, surmounted by the family crest, an owl with wings extended, on a cap of maintenance, was engraved the following testimonial:

"To Captain Robert Nicholas, of H.M.S. *Lark*, late Lieutenant-Governor of the island of Curaçoa.

"This piece of plate is presented by the merchants concerned in trade with that island, as a mark of respect to his person, and a token of gratitude for

III. William, born at Ashton-Keynes in Wiltshire, December 12, 1785, received his grammatical education at Mr. Newcome's school at Hackney, was a Woolwich cadet in 1799, a Lieutenant of Engineers in 1801, and first saw active duty at the defences of the western heights of Dover. In the spring of 1806 he joined the expedition to Sicily, dating from which time till his early death, he took part in eleven engagements, viz., at St. Euphemia, Maida, Rosetta first and second, Bagnora, Alexandria, Scylla first and second, Alcanitz, Barossa, and Badajos. It was at the ill-contrived assault on Rosetta that he had his first experience of the style of warfare practised by the Turk, whose cavalry during the retreat of the English descended on the helplessly wounded, and deliberately cut off their heads. During the street fighting at Rosetta, when General Meade was wounded in the eye, Captains Nicholas and James bore him in their arms out of that scene of carnage, and placed him on the camel which carried him to Alexandria. Though unwounded in fight, Mr. Nicholas about this time sustained great injury from a bathing accident at Alexandria, by plunging into water which was so shallow that his breast struck against a sunken rock. Sir Thomas Graham habitually spoke of his conduct at Barossa as beyond all praise. But let the young soldier here tell his own story, as recorded in his letters home: "It was the most glorious day England ever saw. I wish the eyes of the world had been upon us. I have not had time to indulge in melancholy reflections since I received your letter; but as I galloped through the fire, I thought of the pleasure of meeting my mother and brothers, and never saw death with more indifference. The men fell too fast to be counted. In

those important benefits which resulted to them from his zeal and activity in the protection of their trade, and the wise policy of those measures to which the beneficial intercourse with the neighbouring Spanish colonies is to be attributed. London, February 14, 1809."

short, never was there greater slaughter or a more distinguished battle and victory. It exceeds Maida and Alcanitz. I assure you they were nothing in comparison. Captain Birch and myself were publickly thanked on the field of battle for the assistance we rendered General Graham, in these words: 'There are no two officers in the army to whom I am more indebted than to you two' —stretching out his hands to us—'you have shewn yourselves as fine fellows in the field as at your redoubts.' I hope he will not forget me in his public letter. In every action I have been in before I have not been perfectly satisfied with myself, always thinking that I might have done more. At Barossa I inwardly feel and am satisfied that I did honour to our name. . . . But alas, as in all our victories, honour will be the only reward that falls to us. We have retired again into La Isla, disgusted with our allies, and have left them to pursue their objects as they can. Our men and the soldiers' wives abuse the Spanish officers and men as they pass them in the streets, so that it is probable some disturbance will happen. The Portuguese infantry, who fought admirably, publicly abuse them in the streets."

At the siege of Badajos, he volunteered to direct the action of the storming column which ascended the great breach; and it was in accordance with his habits of thoroughness that in the dead of the night preceding the night of the attack, he determined on making a personal reconnoitre of the position. For this purpose he stripped, and, disregarding the perils of sentinels or of cold water, forded the inundation of the Ravellas in order to deter mine the safest passage across, an action of which due note was taken by Sir Thomas Graham.

The next night witnessed the assault. After twice assaying to reach the summit of the breach, Nicholas fell, wounded by a musket-ball grazing his knee, a bayonet-thrust in the right leg, his left arm broken, and his wrist

bleeding from a third shot. Thus shattered, he rolled among the débris; but on hearing the soldiers demand who should lead them on to the third attack, he rallied his energies sufficiently to order two of his men to hold him up in their arms, and carry his wounded body to the front. Again were they at the top of the breach, when one of his bearers fell dead, and himself received a fourth shot, which broke two ribs and passed out near the spine. This shock precipitated him the whole length of the slope down to the bottom of the breach. By his side were falling his friends, Colonel McLeod, Captain James, and Major-General Colville. The last-mentioned officer swooned from the agony of a wound in the thigh, but he afterwards recovered; and when writing home to his brother-in-law, Canon Frankland (an uncle to William Nicholas), he says: "The last sound which I heard was the voice of that valuable young man and excellent officer, Captain Nicholas, emphatically exhorting his men in the ditch."

After his wounds had been dressed, he wrote home in the following terms:

"My dear Father,

"The breaches were stormed last night, and Badajos taken. I had the honour of showing and leading the troops of the advance to the great breach. I am wounded in the following manner:—one musket ball through the left arm, breaking it about the middle below the elbow,—another through my left side, breaking I believe one or two ribs,—two very slight wounds, one on the knee-pan, and one in the calf of my left leg,—ditto, wrist of the left arm. Adieu, my dear father,

"Your most affectionate son,

"William Nicholas."

"Camp before Badajoz,
"April 7, 1812."

He calmly expired in the afternoon of April 14, 1812, being the eighth day after his wounds.

Sir Richard Fletcher, the commanding engineer, erected, before quitting the captured city, an altar-tomb over the grave of his comrade, and announced the fact to the elder Mr. Nicholas, who had now, in the brief space of two years, lost three sons in the service.

IV. THOMAS, born 1790, a naval Lieutenant of H.M.S. *Satellite*. He was supposed to have been blown up with his boat's crew, while setting fire to the French frigate *Elise* off Tatatho, on the coast of France, December 19, 1810. At any rate, neither the boat nor her freight were ever again seen.

V. CHARLES, born 1794; died 1822. At first a Woolwich cadet; but on the death of his brother William it was decided to send him to Oxford. He eventually became a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, but shortly after died of consumption at Madeira, his remains being brought to England for interment in the family vault at Ashton-Keynes.

VI. CHARLOTTE, born 1784; died unmarried.

VII. SOPHIA, born 1787; died unmarried in 1866.

VIII. FRANCES; died unmarried in 1860, aged seventy-two, and was buried in Kensal Green cemetery.

IX. HARRIET; married, in 1816, Captain (afterwards Admiral) Henry Theodosius Browne Collier, brother to Admiral Sir Francis Collier; and died in 1850, the mother of seven children.

1. George Baring Browne, Captain R.N.; married Justina Maria Stepney, youngest daughter of Joseph Gulston, of Derwydd, Carmarthen.

2. Clarence Augustus, Lieutenant-Colonel Bombay Staff Corps; retired on full pay with rank of Colonel. He married Anne, daughter of Peter Rolt, Esq., M.P.

3. Herbert Cromwell, Captain 21st Hussars; married Blanche Frances, only child of Major-General Bonner.

4. Gertrude Barbara Rich; married Charles Tennant, of Cadoxton Lodge, Glamorgan, Esq.

5. Harriette Augusta Royer; married Sir Alexander Campbell, Bart., of Barcaldine.

6. Adeline Letitia; married Robert Gordon, Adjutant-General of the Madras Army.

7. Clementina Frances; married Frederick Erskine Johnston, Captain R.N., son of the late Right Hon. Sir Alexander Johnston, of Carnsalloch, co. Dumfries.

X. Ellenor, born 1796; married Mr. Sutton, and died, *s.p.*, in 1862.

XI. Maria, died unmarried in 1821.

Family of Gosset.

Grace, eighth daughter of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, fifth Baronet; married, in 1793, Matthew Gosset, Esq., Vicomte of Jersey, and died in 1801. The Gosset family, of noble Norman descent, adopted the Protestant faith, and in consequence forfeited rank, it is thought, about 1555; and later on the estates near St. Lo and St. Sauveur, fleeing to Jersey at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Matthew Gosset's children by Grace Frankland were as follows:

I. William Matthew, Lieutenant-Colonel Royal Engineers; served during the last war with America (1812-1814), and was engaged in the capture of Oswego; married Louisa Walter, in 1830, and died in 1856. No children.

II. Admiral Henry Gosset, served, like his brother, in the last war with the States, and assisted at the capture of Genoa; escorted Napoleon I. to St. Helena. Born in 1798; died unmarried 1877.

III. Captain Charles Gosset, R.N.; served in the Mediterranean and Adriatic during the war with France; died unmarried, 1868.

IV. Grace Elizabeth; married in 1819 to John Callaghan, of Cork, Esq., and had three children—two sons,

who died, and a daughter, who married, in 1876, C. R. Palmer, of Carrig, Queen's Co., Esq.

V. ARTHUR, of Eltham House, Kent, and some time of West Park, Mortlake; Major (retired) Royal Horse Artillery; a Magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant for Kent. In 1834 he married Augusta, daughter of Thomas Morgan, Esq., had twelve children, and died 1886.

1. Augusta Louisa.
2. Emma.
3. Arthur Wellesley, late Captain 2nd Queen's Royals; served throughout the China War of 1860, and in the advance on Pekin; medal and two clasps; married, 1881, Harriet Lavinia, daughter of Rev. R. Holden Webb, and has one daughter.
4. Matthew William Edward, C.B., Brigadier-General, Madras; served with 54th Regiment during the Indian Mutiny, against the Chittagong mutineers in 1857, and in Lord Clyde's campaign, in Oude, 1858-1869. Medal. Adjutant 54th Regiment, 1863-1867; Instructor Royal Military College, 1873-1877; Brigade-Major, Aldershot, 1877-1878; Aide-de-camp to General Officer Commanding the Forces, Cape of Good Hope; and Assistant-Quartermaster-General, 2nd Division, during operations against the Gaikas in the Buffalo Mountains, and the Perie and In'taba Ka'ndoda Bush, 1878-1879. Employed in Quartermaster-General's Department, and as Commandant at Durban, in first and second advance into Zululand. Battle of Ulundi; mentioned in despatches. Medal with clasp. Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel, 1879; in Transvaal Campaign, 1880-1881; Lieutenant-Colonel of the Dorset Regiment, 1884-1890; in operations of the Irrawaddy column in Burmah, 1891-1892. Medal with clasp; Assistant-Adjutant-General, Egypt, 1891; Brigadier-General, Madras, 1891-1896.
5. Mary Harriet.

6. Philip Henry; died 1893; unmarried.

7. Laura Henrietta.

8. Octavia Georgina Emily.

9. Gertrude Maria; married, 1873, F. B. Shadwell, Esq., and has two sons.

10. Grace Amelia.

11. Adelaide Louisa Julia.

12. Edward Frankland, Major East Yorkshire Regiment,; married, 1893, Mary Mabel Vidal, and has one son.

This completes the genealogies of the younger children of Admiral Frankland. The baronetcy has now to be carried on in the person of his eldest son and heir,

Sir Thomas Frankland, sixth Baronet; born 1750; died 1831, having, in 1775, married his cousin, Dorothy, daughter of William Smelt, and niece of Leo Smelt, Esq., sub-Governor to the Prince of Wales [George IV.], and by her, who died 1820, had six children, the youngest of whom was his successor.

Sir Robert Frankland, the seventh Baronet, who, having inherited the Chequers estate by the will of Sir Robert Greenhill Russell in 1836 assumed by sign manual the surname of Russell in addition to and after that of Frankland. He was born 1784, and in 1815 married the Hon. Louisa Anne, third daughter of Lord George Murray, Bishop of St. David's. He sat in several Parliaments, but took no prominent part, nor held office. His five daughters were:

I. Augusta Louisa; married, 1842, to Thomas De Grey, fifth Baron Walsingham, and died 1844, leaving a son, Thomas, who in 1870 succeeded his father as sixth Baron, and married, 1877, Augusta Selina Elizabeth, widow of Ernest Fitzroy Neville, Lord Burghersh.

II. Caroline Agnes; died, unmarried, 1846.

III. Emily Anne; married Sir William Payne

Gallwey, of Thirkleby Park, Bart., M.P. for Thirsk; and was the mother of: (1) Ralph William, in the army, who married Edith Alice, daughter of Thomas M. Usborne, of Blackrock, co. Cork; (2) Edwin; (3) Lionel; (4) Wyndham Harry; (5) Leonora Anne; (6) Bertha Louisa; (7) Isabel Julia, died 1873.

IV. Julia Roberta; married, 1845, Ralph Neville Grenville, eldest son of George Neville, and grandson of the second Baron Braybrooke, and had issue (1) Robert, 1846; (2) George, 1850; (3) Hugh, 1851; (4) Louisa; (5) Agnes Magdalen; (6) Beatrice; (7) Etheldreda.

V. Rosalind Alicia; became, in 1854, the second wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Francis L'Estrange Astley, third son of Sir Jacob Henry Astley, and is now (1896) Mrs. Frankland Russell Astley, of Chequers Court, Bucks. Their issue was: Bertram Frankland, 1857; Hubert Delaval, 1860; and Reginald Basil, 1862.

Sir Robert died in 1849, and was succeeded by his cousin,

Sir Frederick William Frankland Russell, the eighth Baronet, lately residing at Cheltenham. He was the eldest son of Roger Frankland, the Canon of Wells. Born in 1793, he received his military education at Marlow and Woolwich, joined the Duke of Wellington in Portugal in 1812, was present at Pampeluna, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Bidassoa, Bayonne, Toulouse, and Waterloo, also at the storming of Cambray, held office in the Ordnance Department at Gibraltar, served in the East and West Indies, and sold out in 1825. For fifteen years he was a magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant of Sussex, in which county his estate of Montham lay. In the evening of his days he drew up, at the request of his children, a relation of his military life, more particularly of the part which he had borne in the Peninsular

War, and, under the title of "Reminiscences of a Veteran," it was printed for private circulation in 1872, adorned with a portrait of the old soldier. It makes no pretensions to systematic history, but abounds with personal incidents. His health, it appears, was far from good when he left England as a youth, yet he had no disposition to retreat before that or any other obstacle. It was therefore rather humbling to his pride when one day, while the army was ploughing its way by the torrent of Bidassoa, driving the French before them, a message came from the Adjutant directing the young officer to go to the rear, and, taking command of the sick men there gathered, to march them to the nearest hospital station. The order was peremptory, and had to be put in immediate execution; so the march began; but after the first quarter of a mile its ignominy could be endured no longer, and the word was given to "Halt." "Well, my lads," he went on, "I never expected to have such a duty as this to perform. I ought at this moment to be leading the Grenadiers into action, instead of which I am sent to the rear with a pack of skulking fellows, who are shamming sickness because they are tired of fighting. You may hear the guns firing now, and the French are in full retreat. Come now, just change your minds. You may be unwell, but there is not one of you so ill as myself. I declare it drives me mad to think of it." After a short pause, one of their number stepped forward: "Mr. Frankland, we are all knocked up, but we have nevertheless determined to go back with you." So the word was given "Right about face," the fighting battalion was soon overtaken, and every invalid rejoined his company.

Sir Frederick married, in 1821, Katharine Margaret, only daughter of Isaac Scarth, of Stakesby, Yorks, Esq., by whom, who died 1871, he had:

I. Frederick Roger, Midshipman in the *Winchester;* died at Sierra Leone, 1845.

II. Thomas, of the 48th Madras Native Infantry; killed in 1857 at the storming of a tower in the Secunder Bagh, at Lucknow.

III. Harry Albert, Midshipman in the *Alarm;* died of fever at Vera Cruz, 1847.

IV. William Adolphus, Lieutenant-Colonel, and late of the Royal Engineers, of whom presently.

V. Colville, Captain 103rd Fusiliers; married, in 1870, Mary Jay, daughter of William Dawson, of New York, and has two sons and three daughters.

VI. Frederica, died in infancy at Poonah, East India.

VII. Eliza Henrietta Augusta; married at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1861, to Major F. S. Vacher, of the 22nd Regiment.

VIII. Maria Margaret Isabella, died 1860.

Sir Frederick William Frankland died 1878, aged eighty-five, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Sir William Adolphus Frankland, the ninth Baronet, who was born in 1837, and passed first out of the Royal Military Academy into the Royal Engineers in 1855. He succeeded his father, the old Peninsula and Waterloo officer, in 1878. He married Lucy Ducarel, daughter of Francis Adams, Esq., of Clifton and Cotswold Grange, Gloucester. The baronetcy was created by Charles II. at the Restoration. The second Baronet married Frances Russell, grand-daughter of Oliver Cromwell, and the Franklands, being descendants of the Protector, a large number of pictures and relics of the Cromwell family descended with the baronetcy. Sir William Frankland was thus the possessor of the well-known portraits* of Cromwell by Sir Peter Lely, Walker, and Cooper, and of the mask taken of the Protector after

* Amongst these portraits are Oliver as a child, three years old; Oliver in armour, with a page tying his sash; Oliver on horseback; Oliver's mother; his two sons, Richard and Henry; his four daughters; his chaplain, Jeremy White; his secretary, Thurloe; and Cornet Joyce, who took Charles prisoner from Holmby House to Newmarket.

death. At the 1880 General Election, Sir William Frankland, coming forward as a Conservative, lost his seat for Thirsk, a borough which had been represented by a long line of his ancestors, with few intermissions, for several hundred years. He died in December, 1883, after a long illness, at Sunbury-on-Thames. He is succeeded by his eldest son, now Sir Frederick Frankland.

In Henry Stooks Smith's "Parliaments of England," the representatives of Thirsk, being members of the allied families of Greenhill, Greenhill-Russell, Frankland, and Crompton, are invariably marked as Whigs from 1806 downwards. Previous to that date their politics are not specified in Mr. Smith's work.

Earldoms of Chichester and Darnley, and Viscounty of Midleton.

ANNE FRANKLAND, only daughter and heiress of Frederick Meinhardt Frankland, Esq., married, May 11, 1754, Thomas Pelham, Esq., who succeeded his cousin as second Baron Pelham, of Stanmer, in Sussex, and in 1801 was created Earl of Chichester, dying four years afterwards. The Pelhams, of Sussex, were an eminent Whig family. There were four of the name in the Long Parliament. Peregrine Pelham, M.P. for Hull, was a regicide, but whether or not related to the Sussex family is unknown. Sir Thomas Pelham, the member for Sussex, and the direct ancestor of the present Earl of Chichester, served on the committee acting in the Parliament's behalf for that county (Lords' Journals, vii. 208). Thomas Pelham's children by Anne Frankland were:

I. Thomas, second Earl.

II. Henrietta Anne, married to George William Leslie, tenth Earl of Rothes, of whom presently.

III. Henry, born 1759; died 1797, having married Katharine, daughter of Thomas Cobb, Esq. Issue, two daughters: (1) Katharine Elizabeth Anne, and (2)

Fanny, married to Captain James Hamilton Murray, R.N.

IV. Frances, born 1760; married to George, fourth Viscount Midleton of Ireland; and died 1783, leaving a daughter, Frances Anne, who became the wife of Inigo Freeman Thomas, of Ratten in Sussex, Esq., and died *s.p.* in 1858.

V. Lucy, Countess to John, first Earl of Sheffield; died *s.p.* 1797.

VI. Emily, born 1764.

VII. George, D.D.; Bishop successively of Bristol, Exeter, and Lincoln. He married Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Rycroft, and died *s.p.* 1827.

THOMAS, SECOND EARL OF CHICHESTER, born April 8, 1756. Throughout the period of the French Revolution he was Chief Secretary for Ireland under Lord Camden. As Lord Pelham in the House of Commons, he distinguished himself by maintaining, in alliance with Mr. (afterwards Earl) Grey, the right of the House to be made acquainted with the merits of every case of foreign negotiation, as the only means of escaping constant warlike complications. He was one of those who urged the prosecution of Warren Hastings. He married, in 1801, Henrietta Juliana, daughter of Francis Godolphin, fifth Duke of Leeds, and left issue:

I. Mary, born 1803; died 1860.

II. Henry Thomas, third Earl.

III. Amelia Rose, married to Major-General Sir Joshua Jebb, of the Royal Engineers, and died 1884.

IV. Frederick Thomas (died 1861), Rear-Admiral, R.N.; married, 1841, to Ellen Kate, daughter of Rowland Mitchell, Esq., and had: (1) Frederick John; (2) Frederick Sidney, Lieutenant, R.N.; (3) Constance Mary Kate; (4) Emily Blanche; (5) Beatrice Emily Julia; (6) Kathleen Mary Maud.

V. John Thomas, D.D., Bishop of Norwich;

married Henrietta, daughter of Thomas William Tatton, Esq., of Wythenshaw, and had issue: (1) Henry Francis, of Exeter College, Oxon.; married, 1873, Laura Priscilla, daughter of Sir Edward Buxton, Bart.; (2) John Barrington, in Holy Orders; married Caroline, daughter of Rev. William Buller; (3) Sidney, B.A.; (4) Herbert; (5) Fanny.

VI. Henrietta Juliana, born 1813.

VII. Katharine Georgiana, born July 21, 1814; married, October 26, 1837, the Hon. and Rev. Lowther John Barrington, son of George, fifth Viscount Barrington; and died 1885, leaving a family.

VIII. Lucy Anne, second wife to Sir David Dundas, of Beechwood, Bart.

The Earl died in 1826, and was succeeded by his son,

Henry Thomas Pelham, third Earl of Chichester, born August, 1804; married, 1828, Mary Brudenell, daughter of Robert, sixth Earl of Cardigan, who died in 1867. By her he had issue:

I. Walter John (Lord Pelham), married, 1861, Eliza Mary, only daughter of the Hon. Sir John Duncan Bligh.

II. Francis Godolphin, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Beverley, Yorks, subsequently Canon of Bangor and Rector of Lambeth; married Alice Carr, daughter of Lord Wolverton, and has Jocelyn Brudenell, Ruth Mary, Henry George Godolphin, Anthony Ashley Ivo, Herbert.

III. Thomas Henry William, barrister-at-law; married Louisa, daughter of William Bruce, Esq., cousin to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, and has issue Mary Louisa.

IV. Arthur Lowther, married Evelyn, daughter of Reginald Cust, Esq.

V. Harriet Mary, married, 1850, to John Stuart Bligh, Earl of Darnley, in the peerage of Ireland, and

Baron Clifton in that of England; descended from John Bligh, one of Cromwell's agents for the settlement of forfeited estates in Ireland. Issue: Edward Henry Stuart, Kathleen Susan Emma, and other children.

VI. Susan Emma, married, 1853, to Abel Smith, of Woodhall Park, Herts.

VII. Isabella Charlotte, married, 1855, to Samuel Whitbread, M.P. for Bedford. Issue: Maud; married Mr. Charles Whitbread.

The Earl died in 1886, and was succeeded by his son, Walter John Pelham, fourth Earl of Chichester, who was born in 1838.

Earldom of Rothes.

Henrietta Anne Pelham, eldest daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Chichester; married, 1789, George William, tenth Earl of Rothes, of the kingdom of Fife, and had, with Amelia and Mary, who died unmarried,

Henrietta Anne, Countess, who in 1806 married George Gwyther on his assumption of the surname and arms of Leslie, and had issue:

I. George William Evelyn, eleventh Earl.

II. Thomas Jenkins, in the army.

III. Henrietta Anne, wife of Charles Knight Murray, barrister-at-law.

IV. Mary Elizabeth, married Martin E. Haworth, of the 60th Rifles; died 1893.

V. Anna Maria, married Henry Hugh Courtenay, Rector of Mamhead, son of the eleventh Earl of Devon, and had: Henry Reginald and Hugh Leslie.

VI. Katherine Caroline, married John Parker, Captain, 66th Foot.

The Countess died in 1819, and was succeeded by her son,

George William Evelyn, eleventh Earl of Rothes;

born 1809; married Louisa, third daughter of Henry Anderson Morshead, of Widey Court, Devon, and left at his death, in 1841, a daughter, Henrietta Anderson Morshead, who eventually became Countess, and an only son, namely,

George William Evelyn, twelfth Earl, who died unmarried in 1859, when the family honours devolved upon his sister,

Henrietta Anderson Morshead Leslie, Countess of Rothes, and Baroness Leslie and Ballenbreich in the peerage of Scotland; married, 1861, to the Hon. George Waldegrave Leslie, third son of William, eighth Earl of Waldegrave.

Family of Gee.

Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Frankland, the second Baronet; married Roger Talbot, of Woodend, in Yorkshire, whose only daughter, Arabella, or Elizabeth (?), became the second wife of Colonel William Gee, who fell at Fontenoy in 1743. They had one son, viz.:

Roger Gee, Esq., of Bishop Burton, who by his wife, Caroline, eighth daughter and co-heir of Sir Warton Penyman Warton, had two daughters: (1) Sarah Elizabeth, married to Henry Boldero Barnard, of Cave Castle; and (2) Caroline, married to George Hotham, of the Guards. Mr. Gee died in 1778, and was buried in Bath Abbey. His daughters, who were his co-heirs, sold the Woodend estate to the Crompton family.

Family of Barnard.

Sarah Elizabeth Gee, married Mr. Barnard aforesaid in 1788, and had surviving issue as follows:

I. Henry Gee, born 1789; a Captain in the Scots Greys.

II. Charles Lewyns, born 1790; entered the army in his fifteenth year as Ensign in his uncle General Hotham's

regiment, and finally became a Captain of the Scots Greys, in the troop previously commanded by his elder brother. After distinguishing himself in no less than twelve engagements under the Duke of Wellington, he fell at Waterloo in 1815.

III. Edward William, held the family living of South Cave, and died at Chester in 1827, leaving by his wife, Philadelphia Frances Esther, daughter of Archdeacon Wrangham, three children, namely: (1) Edward Charles Gee, born 1822; (2) Rosamund; (3) Caroline.

IV. Sarah Eleanor, married, in 1832, to Joseph, only surviving son of Samuel Delpratt, of Jamaica, and had issue one daughter, Eleanor Josephine.

Mr. Boldero Barnard died in 1815—his widow in 1832—and was succeeded by his eldest son, Henry Gee Barnard.

Family of Hotham and Baronetcy of Lubbock.

CAROLINE, the second daughter of Roger Gee aforesaid, became in 1792 the first wife of Lieutenant-Colonel George Hotham, eldest son of General George Hotham and brother to Admiral Lord Hotham. She died in 1811.

The children of Colonel Hotham and Miss Gee were as follows:

I. William, Rear Admiral, R.N., born 1794; went to sea at the age of ten in the *Raissonable*, 64, commanded by his uncle, Vice-Admiral Sir William Hotham; distinguished himself at Antwerp, Cadiz, Matagorda, the capture of *La Persanne*, French store-ship; destroying batteries at Omago, on the coast of Istria; storming the fort of Farisina; capturing the batteries of Rovigno; commanding a flotilla on the Po, in co-operation with the Austrian army; sailing in the squadron which escorted Louis XVIII. to his restored dominions in 1814, etc.

II. George, a Captain of Engineers; born 1796; died 1860. He married Caroline, daughter of Richard Watt,

of Bishop Burton, Esq., and had two children: Richard, an officer in the army, and Harriet. By his second wife, Amelia, daughter of Francis Ramsden Hawkesworth, he had Arthur, Francis, Alice, and Laura.

III. Charles, Prebendary of York; married Lucy Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Christopher Sykes.

IV. John, in the Artillery, E.I.C. His first wife was Maria, daughter of Henry Thompson, of Burton, Esq. By his second, Mary, daughter of Rev. D. R. Roundell, he had: Charles, John, Caroline, Fanny, and Gertrude.

V. Sarah, married in 1823 to Stephen Creyke, Archdeacon of York, and had issue: Walter Pennington, Alexander Stephen, Alfred Richard, Caroline Julia, Diana Jane, Gertrude Hotham.

VI. Charlotte, married to Robert Denison, Esq.

VII. Gertrude, married to Rev. Christopher Neville, and had issue a daughter, Charlotte, 1831, and a son, George, 1833.

VIII. Diana Caroline, married in 1841 to Henry Alexander Brown, of Kingston Grove, Oxford.

IX. Harriet, married in 1833 to Sir John William Lubbock, of Lamas, co. Norfolk, Bart., and had issue:

1. John, who succeeded to the baronetcy, M.P. for Maidstone, F.R.S., D.C.L., Vice-Chancellor of London University, Hon. Secretary of the London bankers; married Ellen Frances, daughter of Rev. Peter Hordern. Her children are: John Birkbeck, 1858; Norman, 1861; Rolfe Arthur, 1865; Amy Harriet; Constance Mary; Gertrude; Florence, who died 1868.
2. Henry James, 1838.
3. Neville, 1839.
4. Beaumont William, 1840.
5. Montague, 1842.
6. Frederick, 1844.

7. Alfred, 1845.

8. Edgar, 1847.

9. Mary Harriet, married, 1857, to Robert Birkbeck, Esq.

10. Diana Hotham, married, 1856, to William P. Rodney, cousin of Lord Rodney.

11. Henrietta Harriet.

Family of Worsley.

FRANCES, second surviving daughter of Thomas Frankland, the second Baronet; married, in 1710, Thomas Worsley, of Hovingham in Yorkshire, Esq. Worsley, or Workesley, is a name derived from Sir Elias, Lord of Worsley, near Manchester, at the time of the Conquest, who accompanied Robert, Duke of Normandy, to the Holy Land, and was buried at Rhodes.

By Frances Frankland, Mr. Worsley had two sons and four daughters, as follows:

I. Thomas, his successor.

II. James, a clergyman; married Dorothy Pennyman, and left four children: James, Ralph, Richard, and Dorothy. A grandchild of Mr. James Worsley was James Whyte Pennyman, of Ormesby Hall, Yorkshire, and possibly other names might be successfully sought in that direction.

III. Mary, wife to Marmaduke Constable, of Wassand, of whom hereafter.

IV. Elizabeth, survived her husband, William Slaenforth, Esq.

V. Katharine, unmarried.

VI. Frances, married to Sir Thomas Robinson, Lord Grantham, of whom hereafter (page 171).

Mr. Thomas Worsley was succeeded by his eldest son,

THOMAS, M.P., Surveyor-General of the Board of Works under George III., from whom he received many marks of favour. He rebuilt the family mansion, and enriched it with a library and a gallery of paintings. By

his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. J. Lister, he had, besides two daughters, two sons, viz.:

Edward, his successor.

George, Rector of Stonegrave and Scawton, Yorkshire; married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Cayley, of Brompton, Bart., and had fifteen children: (1) and (2) George and Edward, died young; (3) William, succeeded his uncle; (4) Marcus, married Miss Harriet Hamer, and had issue; (5) Thomas, Rector of Scawton; (6) Frederick Cayley; (7) Septimus Launcelot, M.A. of Cambridge; (8) Henry Francis, married Catharine, daughter of B. Blackden, Esq., and had issue; (9) Charles Valentine, barrister-at-law; (10) Arthur, of the 51st Regiment of Native Infantry in India; (11) Digby Edmund; (12) Isabella, married J. C. Blackden, Esq., and had several children; (13) Philadelphia, married William J. Coltman, M.A., Oxon.; (14) Anne; (15) Frances, married G. H. Webber, Prebendary of Ripon.

Edward Worsley was the next heir, but, dying unmarried in 1830, was succeeded by his nephew,

William Worsley, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge; many years in the Hussar Yeomanry Corps of his relation, Lord de Grey, and a magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant in the North Riding. In 1827 he married Sarah Philadelphia, daughter of Sir George Cayley, of Brompton, Yorkshire, Bart., and had issue:

I. Thomas Robinson.
II. William Cayley.
III. Sophia Harriet.
IV. Arthington.
V. Katherine Louisa.
VI. Anna Barbara.

Family of Constable of Wassand.

Mary, eldest daughter of Frances Frankland and Thomas Worsley (see page 167), married Marmaduke

Constable, of Wassand, near Hull, Esq. The "Wassand Constable" race have always held high position in the northern counties. From Robert de Lacy Constable of Chester, in 1206, down to Robert Constable of 1701, twenty-eight members of the family have been High Sheriffs of York. During the Civil War of Charles I.'s time, the house of Constable, like many others, was a divided one. Sir William, the Flamborough Baronet, and the representative of the elder branch, sat for Knaresborough in the Long Parliament, and, having married a daughter of the house of Fairfax, became associated with them in war. His personal hostility to the King's measures, especially in the matter of ship-money, had already resulted in imprisonment, and declared itself more fully when he joined in signing the warrant for Charles's execution. Judging by the large sums passing through his hands, he must have been much in the Parliament's confidence. In 1643 he was actually proposed for the command-in-chief, under Fairfax. In 1648 he was one of the Council of State. As a regicide, he was excepted out of the Bill of Pardon, and, having died during the Protectorate, his estates fell under confiscation. On the other hand, there are several of the Constables discernible among the Royalists—to wit, Sir Philip of Everingham, Sidney, William, Matthew, and John, besides "Ralph Constable," whose composition-fine was £70 13s. 4d. Of the "Marmaduke Constable of Wassand" of that period, nothing distinctive (beyond his marriage) is recorded. The children of Mary Frankland by Mr. Constable were as follows:

I. Marmaduke, his heir.

II. Thomas, a clergyman; married Sarah, daughter of Charles Goulton, Esq., and had:

1. Charles, heir to his uncle Marmaduke.

2. Marmaduke, married, 1807, Octavia, daughter of General Hale; no issue.

3. Rachel Marian, married, 1808, James Salmond, Esq. Their son Edward died *s.p.* 1821.

4. Frances Elizabeth, married, 1814, William Bentinck, Prebendary of Westminster, eldest son of Lord Edward Charles Cavendish Bentinck.

5. Sarah, died young.

III. Mary, married to Jonathan Acklom, of Wiseton, Notts, Esq., by whom she had one son and four daughters, viz.: Richard, Ann Elizabeth, Mary, Lucy—who married her cousin Charles Constable, see below—and Rosamund. The eldest daughter, Anne Elizabeth, was the wife of Christopher Neville, of Thorney, and the mother of two sons—Christopher and George—the elder of whom married Gertrude, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Hotham, of York, and had a daughter—Charlotte, 1831—and a son —George, 1833.

IV. Rosamund, died unmarried in 1801.

Mr. Constable, dying in 1762, aged fifty-eight, was succeeded by his elder son.

MARMADUKE, who died unmarried in 1812, was succeeded by his nephew,

CHARLES, M.A., and a clergyman, also in the Commission of the Peace for the three Ridings of Yorkshire. On succeeding to the family estates, he built a new house in place of the mansion which had stood since 1530. He married his cousin Lucy, daughter of Jonathan Acklom, and had an only child—Mary—who in 1818 married George, eldest son of Sir William Strickland, of Boynton, Bart.

Family of Strickland.

MR. GEORGE STRICKLAND married Mary Constable aforesaid, and in 1834 succeeded his father as seventh Baronet. They had issue as follows:

I. Charles William, eighth Baronet.

II. Frederick, born 1820; died 1849.

III. Henry Strickland Constable, of Wassand, who took by royal license the additional surname of Constable; married Cornelia Charlotte Anne, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry and Lady Sophia Dumaresq (see "Lanesborough" in the Peerage), and had issue:

1. Frederick Charles, 1860.
2. Marmaduke.
3. Ethel.
4. Mary Sophia.
5. Rosamund.
6. Lucy Winifred.

IV. Lucy Henrietta, the wife of J. P. Marriott, afterwards Goulton Constable of Cotesbach. They both died in 1871.

Sir George Strickland died in 1874, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

Sir Charles William Strickland, eighth Baronet, barrister-at-law; born 1819; married first Georgina Selina Septimia, daughter of Sir William Milner, of Nun-Appleton, Bart., and by her, who died 1864, has a son—Walter William. He married secondly Ann Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Christopher Neville, of Thorney, Notts, and has issue:

I. Frederick, 1868.
II. Eustace Edward, 1870.
III. Henry, 1873.
IV. Esther Anne.

Family of Robinson and titles of Grantham, De Grey, Cowper, Goderich, and Ripon.

Frances, fourth daughter of Thomas Worsley (see page 167), married, about 1736, her cousin, Sir Thomas Robinson, who after her decease became the first Baron Grantham in the county of Lincoln. He was second son to Sir Tancred Robinson, Rear-Admiral of the White, and twice Lord Mayor of York. He commenced his political

career as Secretary to Sir Horace Walpole, when Ambassador in France, and attained his peerage in 1761. His wife had died in 1750. Their children were:

I. Thomas, his successor.

II. Frederick, married Katharine Gertrude Harris, sister to the first Earl of Malmesbury.

III. Theresa, married John Parker, first Lord Boringdon, of whom hereafter.

Lord Grantham died in 1770, and was succeeded by his elder son,

THOMAS, second Baron Grantham; married, in 1780, Mary Jemima, second daughter and co-heiress of Philip Yorke, second Earl Hardwicke, by Jemima, Marchioness De Grey, and sister and heir-presumptive of Amabel, Countess De Grey, by whom he left two sons, namely:

Thomas Philip, Earl De Grey (page 173).

Frederick John, Viscount Goderich and Earl Ripon, who, with his lady, Sarah Louisa Albinia Hobart, only daughter of Robert, fourth Earl of Bucks, inherited the property of that nobleman. His children, besides a son who died in infancy, were: George Frederick Samuel, his successor, and Eleanor Henrietta Victoria, who died young. Frederick John, born in London in 1782, was educated at Harrow and Cambridge, where he obtained Sir William Browne's medal for the best Latin ode, and took his degree in the following year. He began public life as secretary to his Tory relation, Lord Hardwicke, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, till the death of Pitt made way for the coalition of "All the Talents." On the appointment of the next Ministry, that of the Duke of Portland, in 1807, Mr. Robinson, as Member for Ripon (which he continued to represent for twenty years), voted as a Tory, and forthwith we find him Under-Secretary for the Colonies in Mr. Perceval's Administration, from which date he passed from one post of duty to another,

always to a higher, giving evidence of versatile capacity and plodding industry, till his utmost powers were taxed as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The part he played in the Corn-Law Bill led to the attack on his house by a London mob in March, 1815. Almost his last public act was to move in the House of Lords the second reading of Sir Robert Peel's Bill of 1846, obliterating that measure, and stultifying the doctrines and prophecies of thirty years of Protection.

Thomas, second Baron Grantham, died in 1786, and was succeeded by his elder son,

Thomas Philip, Earl De Grey, Baron Lucas of Crudwell in Wilts, and Baron Grantham; Commander of the Yorkshire Hussars; Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Bedfordshire, in which county he inherited the Wrest estate from his aunt, Amabel, Countess De Grey; and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland under Sir Robert Peel's Administration, 1841-44. The Earl's political bias, whatever it was, had not prevented him on a previous occasion from advocating the cause of the oppressed. This was in the matter of the judicial inquiry into the conduct of George IV.'s Queen, Caroline of Brunswick, when, as Lord Grantham, together with other peers, he openly recorded his disapproval of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, though put in execution by the Ministry of which his brother, Frederick Robinson, was a member. In private life Earl De Grey was a liberal patron of the decorative sciences, and is said to have himself exhibited skill as a painter. He certainly made an extensive and tasteful collection of works of art. Of the various portraits taken of him from time to time, a resemblance to his ancestor, the Protector, seems traceable in the quarto engraving after John Wood's picture, executed when he must have been in the prime of life, though the same can hardly be said of that by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

Earl De Grey married, in 1805, Henrietta Frances Cole, daughter of William, first Earl of Enniskillen, and, besides a son who died in infancy, had two surviving daughters:

I. Anne Florence, Baroness Lucas; married, in 1833, to George Augustus Frederick, sixth Earl Cowper, of whom presently.

II. Mary Gertrude, married, in 1832, to Captain Henry Vyner, of whom presently.

Earl De Grey died in 1859, when he was succeeded in his barony of Lucas by his daughter, Lady Cowper, and in his other titles by his nephew, the Earl of Ripon.

Sir George Frederick Samuel Robinson, born 1827; succeeded his father as Earl of Ripon and Viscount Goderich, and his uncle as Earl De Grey, Baron Grantham, and a Baronet. Previous to this he had been M.P. in succession for Hull, Huddersfield, and the West Riding. In 1859 he was Under-Secretary for War. He married Henrietta Anne Theodosia, eldest daughter of Captain Henry Vyner, and grand-daughter of the late Earl De Grey, and had issue: Frederick Oliver, Lord De Grey, born 1852; and Mary Sarah, who died in 1858.

Earldom of Cowper.

Anne Florence, elder daughter of Earl De Grey, who married George Augustus Frederick, sixth Earl Cowper and Lord-Lieutenant of Kent, had issue as follows:

I. Francis Thomas De Grey, who in 1856 succeeded his father as seventh Earl, and also as a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. He subsequently married Katrine Cecilia, daughter of Lord William Compton.

II. Henry Frederick, M.P. for Herts.

III. Henrietta Emily Mary, died 1853.

IV. Florence Amabel, married, in 1871, to the Hon. Auberon Herbert.

V. Adine Eliza Anne, married to Julian Fane, fourth son of John, eleventh Earl of Westmoreland, and died 1868.

VI. Amabel, married, in 1873, to Lord Walter Kerr, R.N., son of the late Marquis of Lothian, and has issue.

Family of Vyner.

MARY GERTRUDE, younger daughter of Earl De Grey, was married in 1832 to Captain Henry Vyner, son of Robert Vyner, of Gautby, and his wife, the Lady Theodosia Maria Ashburnham, and had six children, as follows:

I. Henry Frederick Clare, 1836, of Gautby, Lincolnshire; Newby Hall, Ripon, Yorkshire; and of Coombe Hurst, Kingston, Surrey; died on November 11, 1882.

II. Reginald Arthur, M.P. for Ripon; died 1870.

III. Robert Charles, of Fairfield, Yorkshire; married, 1865, to Eleanor, daughter of Rev. Slingsby Duncombe Shafto. His eldest daughter, Mary Evelyn, was married, in 1886, to Lord Alwyne Compton, 10th Royal Hussars, third son of the Marquis of Northampton. His younger daughter, Violet Aline, was married in July, 1890, to Lord Loughborough, eldest son of the Earl of Rosslyn.

IV. Frederick Grantham, murdered by brigands in Greece, April 21, 1870.*

V. Henrietta Anne Theodosia, present Marchioness of

* The Earl of Shaftesbury in his Diary thus alludes to this event:

"*April* 25.—Three English gentlemen, among whom was Fred Vyner, the son of my old friend, Lady Mary, have been captured and slain by brigands near Athens. Cecil [Ashley] had intended to join the party to Marathon. A special providence, God's interposing mercy, saved him from it. Had not the steamer to Italy been ordered to sail the next day, he would have gone with the rest, and have shared their fate.

"*April* 27.—This very dreadful event has seized hold of my imagination, and haunts me day and night. O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, show Thyself. The cruelty, the cowardice, the bloodthirstiness of the deed! Poor boy, poor dear boy! Fred Vyner, so young, so gentle, and so handsome!"

Ripon, having married her cousin, Sir George Robinson, afterwards Earl of Ripon and De Grey.

VI. Theodosia, Marchioness of Northampton; died 1864.

Family of Parker and titles of Boringdon and Morley.

THERESA, only daughter of Thomas, first Lord Grantham, became, in 1769, the second wife of John Parker, M.P. for the county of Devon, afterwards created Baron Boringdon in that county. His children by Lady Theresa were John, his successor, and a daughter, Theresa, married to Hon. George Villiers, of whom presently. Lord Boringdon died 1788, and was succeeded by his son,

JOHN, born 1772; created Earl of Morley in 1815. He married, first, Augusta, daughter of John, Earl of Westmoreland, by whom he had one son, who in 1816, at the age of eleven, met his death at St. Maud, near Paris, through inadvertently swallowing a stalk of rye.

Family of Villiers and titles of Hyde and Clarendon, Lytton and Skelmersdale.

THERESA, only daughter of John, first Lord Boringdon, married, in 1798, George, third son of Thomas Villiers Earl of Clarendon, and died in 1855. Her children were:

I. George William Frederick, successor to his uncle, the third Earl of Clarendon.

II. Thomas Hyde, died 1832.

III. The Right Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, born 1802; M.A. Cantab., barrister-at-law, late Judge-Advocate-General, and a Privy Councillor; President of the Poor Law Board, 1859; M.P. for Wolverhampton ever since 1835; Deputy-Lieutenant for Herts. Finally—and here his fame principally rests—he was chairman of the memorable Anti-Corn-Law League. While Colonel Thompson, Dr. Bowring, George Wilson, Richard Cobden,

and John Bright worked the question out of doors, to Mr. Villiers was assigned the more trying task of fighting the battle of Free Trade against his own order—against the entire aristocratic phalanx, whether Whig or Tory. While, therefore, we wonder not that, as the reward of his well-sustained fortitude, he should ever enjoy a fixed and abiding place in the esteem of the mercantile classes and in the affections of the labouring classes, it were equally true to add that his merits have long received the like homage from eminent members of his own class. In the summer of 1879 a colossal statue of the veteran statesman was erected in the town which he had represented for forty-four years.

IV. Edward Ernest, born 1806; married, in 1835, to Elizabeth Charlotte Liddell, fifth daughter of Lord Ravensworth, and died 1843, leaving issue:

I. Ernest, born 1838.

II. Maria Theresa; married, 1864, to Captain Earl, of the Rifle Brigade.

III. and IV. Edith and Elizabeth, twins. Edith married Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, of whom presently (page 181).

V. Henry Montague, D.D., of Christchurch, Oxon., born in 1813. Lord Chancellor Cottenham presented him to the vicarage of Kenilworth, and when Dr. T. Vowler Short was advanced to the bishopric of Sodor and Man, Dr. Villiers succeeded Dr. Short at St. George's, Bloomsbury. In 1847 he was nominated by Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister, to a canon-residentiary in St. Paul's Cathedral. In 1856 Lord Palmerston advanced him to the bishopric of Carlisle, his promotion culminating at Durham, when Dr. Longley attained the archbishopric of York. The money value of Durham was then estimated at £8,000 a year, with considerable patronage attached. He married, in 1837, Amelia Maria, eldest daughter of

William Hulton, of Hulton Park, Lancashire, and had issue:

1. Henry Montague, M.A., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Wilton Place, London; married Victoria, second daughter of Earl Russell, and has: Henry Montague, John Russell, Thomas Lister, another son; Frances Adelaide, Gwendolen Mary, Rhoda Victoria, Margaret Evelyn, Dorothy, Mabel Agatha, Katharine Helen.
2. Frederick Ernest, born 1840.
3. Amy Maria, married the Rev. Edward Cheese.
4. Gertrude Fanny.
5. Mary Agneta.
6. Evelyn Theresa.

VI. Augustus Algernon, of the Royal Navy; died 1834.

VII. Maria Theresa, married, in 1830, to Thomas Henry Lister, Esq., of Armitage Park, co. Stafford. Mr. Lister dying in 1842, his widow remarried Sir George Cornewall Lewis. The children of her first marriage were:

1. The Hon. Thomas Villiers Lister, of Armitage Hill, Sunninghill, and 61, Eaton Square; born 1832; married, first, Fanny Harriet, daughter of William Coryton, Esq., of Pentillie, in Cornwall, and had: George Coryton, 1863, with three other sons and three daughters. He married, secondly, 1877, Florence Selina, daughter of William John Hamilton, Esq., and has a daughter. Mr. Lister, who was educated at Harrow, and Trinity College, Cambridge (M.A. 1853), is a Deputy-Lieutenant for co. Radnor, and Assistant-Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
2. Maria Theresa, married Mr. (now Sir) William Vernon Harcourt, M.P., and died 1863, leaving one son, Lewis Reginald.

3. Alice Beatrice, married Algernon Borthwick, Esq., of 60, Eaton Place, who was knighted in 1880, made a peer in 1895, and has two children.

The Lister family is one of long standing and celebrity in the Northern counties, whose senior branch, now represented by Lord Ribblesdale, is reputed to have been seated at Gisburn, in the West Riding, for five centuries or more. During the period of the great Civil War, their leading members were prominent as patriots.

George William Frederick, Earl of Clarendon and Baron Hyde, of Hindon, in Wilts, K.G., G.C.B., P.C., D.C.L.; born in 1800; succeeded as fourth Earl on the decease of his uncle in 1838 (page 176). From an early period Mr. Villiers selected diplomacy as his special sphere, being only twenty years old when he was attached to the Embassy at Constantinople. After the second Revolution in France of 1830, he went to that country to arrange a commercial treaty, and became still more conspicuous by his residence in Spain as Lord Grey's Envoy during the period of the civil war between the Carlists and the Christinos. He never concealed his preference for the people's party, and when the success of the Christinos had confirmed his own popularity, he used the influence so acquired for the advancement of liberty in other forms than in the mere establishment of Queen Isabella's throne, negotiating, among other schemes, a treaty for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade. In George Borrow's "Bible in Spain," an instance is recorded of his prompt solicitude to relieve individual suffering. Mr. Borrow had been thrown into prison by the Spanish authorities for opening a shop for the sale of Bibles. He appealed to the English Ambassador, and Mr. Villiers immediately paid him a visit, heard his own explanation of the affair, and then, hastening to the Spanish Minister, at once procured his countryman's release. Succeeding to the earldom, he came to England

in 1839 to take his place in the House of Peers, and, as Lord Privy Seal, to strengthen the Melbourne Administration; but the days of that Cabinet were already numbered, and the advent of Sir Robert Peel shut him out of office for another five years. But the interval was well improved. He performed, in conjunction with his brother Charles, the chairman of the Anti-Corn-Law League, a very important part in furthering Sir Robert Peel's Corn-Law Repeal Bill of 1846, and the dislocation of the Conservative Party consequent on that measure made way for the return of the Whigs. And now Lord Clarendon, as Viceroy of Ireland, had to take part in another civil war, though on a much smaller scale than that in Spain.

From the Earl's triumphs in Ireland, we pass on to his important Embassy in France during the Crimean War.

The post of Ambassador to France brought into requisition all the experiences of his past life, to which the suavity of his manners and the goodness of his heart were, under the circumstances of the hour, added qualifications of the utmost value. If it were too much to say that no other Englishman could have supplied his place, it will probably be admitted that none could more ably have forwarded the views of Napoleon III. Whether or not he was constitutionally in love with the policy which united us to France is a matter of doubt.

Lord Clarendon's latest appointment to office was under Mr. Gladstone, in 1868, and his death eighteen months after was felt to be a great blow to the stability of that Cabinet. He married, in 1839, Lady Katharine, daughter of Walter James, first Earl of Verulam, and widow of John Barham, of Stockbridge, by whom (who died 1874) he had:

1. Edward Hyde, died in infancy.
2. Edward Hyde, fifth Earl.

3. George Patrick Hyde, born 1847; Captain, Grenadier Guards; Military Secretary to Lord Lytton in India, holding a staff appointment in the Afghan Expedition of 1878.

4. Francis Hyde, married, 1876, Virginia Katharine, second daughter of Eric Carrington Smith, Esq.

5. Constance, married, 1864, to Frederick Arthur, the younger son of Edward, fourteenth Earl of Derby, and has issue: Edward George Villiers, Victor Albert, Geoffrey and Arthur—twins, Geoffrey dying in infancy—Ferdinand Charles, Katharine Mary, and others.

6. Alice; married, 1860, to Edward Bootle Wilbraham, Baron Skelmersdale, of Lancashire, and had issue: Edward George, Villiers Richard, Randle Arthur, Reginald Francis, Alice Maud, Constance Adela, Florence Mary, Bertha Mable, Edith Cecil.

7. Emily Theresa, married, 1868, to Odo William Leopold Russell, Baron Ampthill of Ampthill, third son of the late Major-General Lord George William Russell, G.C.B. Lord Ampthill died in August, 1884, in Berlin, where he was then British Ambassador to Germany, and had issue: Arthur Oliver Villiers, born at Rome, 1870; Victor Alexander Frederick and Alexander Victor Frederick, twins; Constance Evelyn Villiers.

8. Florence Margaret, died in infancy.

His lordship died in 1870, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

Edward Hyde Villiers, fifth Earl of Clarendon and Baron Hyde; an officer in the South Herts Yeomanry Cavalry; M.P. for Brecon, 1869. Born 1846; married, 1876, to the Lady Caroline Elizabeth Agar Ellis, eldest daughter of the Earl of Normanton, and has issue: George Herbert Hyde, born 1877. The earldom of Clarendon is a branch of the earldom of Jersey, but derived maternally from the Lord Chancellor Clarendon of the Civil War period.

Barony of Lytton.

EDITH, second daughter of Edward Ernest Villiers (see page 177); married, in 1864, Sir Edward Robert Lytton Bulwer-Lytton (only son of the first Baron Lytton, of Knebworth, in Herts), late Minister at Lisbon, and Viceroy of India in 1876. In the following year the Queen conferred on him the Grand Cross of the Civil Division of the Order of the Bath. His children are:

I. Rowland Edward, died in infancy.
II. Henry Meredith Edward, died young.
III. A son born at Simla in 1876.
IV. Elizabeth Edith.
V. Constance Georgina.
VI. Emily.

His father, the first Lord Lytton, distinguished as a novelist, a poet, and an orator, was buried in Westminster Abbey in 1873. Sir William Lytton, of Knebworth, M.P. for Herts in the Long Parliament, was one of the Commissioners to treat with King Charles at Uxbridge.

CHAPTER XII.

THE YOUNGER SONS OF SIR HENRY CROMWELL, THE GRANDFATHER OF THE LORD PROTECTOR OLIVER, AND HIS BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

THE descendants of Sir Henry Cromwell—"the Golden Knight," as he was termed on account of his lavish generosity and hospitality—having been traced through his two sons, Sir Oliver and Mr. Robert Cromwell, it will now be convenient to add a brief account of the other three sons of Sir Henry, namely, Henry, Richard, and Philip. From the Register of the University of Oxford, printed by the Oxford Historical Society, we learn that each of these gentlemen had the advantage of an education at the University of Oxford.

HENRY, third son of Sir Henry, at the age of fifteen was matriculated at St. John's College, in 1581, and was admitted Fellow in 1588, after having taken the degree of B.C.L. He resided on his patrimony at Upwood, was a Justice of the Peace, and was returned as member for the borough of Huntingdon in the first Parliament called by James I. As a sign of his interest in the public welfare, we are told that he was one of the "adventurers" who subscribed their money for the colonization of the infant colony of Virginia. He died in 1630, leaving one son—Richard—who died without male issue in 1626, and was buried at Upwood.

Richard, fourth son of Sir Henry, at the age of fifteen was matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1587, and admitted to the degree of B.A. in 1590. On the authority of Willis's Not. Parlem. we are told by Noble (vol. i. 30) that this Richard Cromwell was member for the borough of Lostwithiel in Cornwall, in the forty-third year of Queen Elizabeth. How he became connected with so distant a part of the country, we are left to conjecture; and it is just possible that Willis may have made a mistake, and may have confounded this Richard Cromwell with another of the same name in Wiltshire, who matriculated, in 1581, at Magdalen Hall, Oxford. He is supposed to have left no child, as his landed property passed at his death, in 1628, to his nephew Oliver, afterwards the Lord Protector.

Philip, fifth son of Sir Henry, at the age of fourteen was matriculated, in 1592, at Brasenose College, like his brother Richard, and in 1599 was admitted at St. John's College to the degree of B.C.L. That old Sir Henry should thus have sent three of his sons to the University may be accepted as some indication that he did not undervalue for his children the benefits of a sound education. After leaving the University, Philip seems to have settled down into the position of a country gentleman, and to have resided on his estate at Biggin, between Ramsay and Upwood, in Hunts. He was knighted by James I., at Whitehall, in 1604, and died in 1629, leaving behind him five sons and three daughters. Three of these sons fought in the Civil War, two of them—Philip and Oliver—on the side of the Parliament, and one—Thomas—on the side of the King, thus illustrating the terrible nature of a Civil War, when brothers have to draw the sword against each other on the field of battle.

1. Philip was wounded at the siege of Bristol, and died of his wounds (1645). 2. Oliver, after seeing service in England, accompanied his cousin, the Protector, to

Ireland, in command of a regiment, and there died in 1649.

3. Thomas espoused the King's cause on the outbreak of the Civil War, and passed through it in safety. He left one son—Henry—whose chief claim to be remembered by posterity is that he was numbered amongst the friends and correspondents of Alexander Pope. Pope's letters to Henry Cromwell may be read in his correspondence. Nothing more is known about him—whether married or not.

4. Richard, youngest son of Sir Philip Cromwell, appears to have succeeded in keeping out of service in the Civil War, and at the Restoration showed his dislike of the Protector's memory and all his doings by quietly abandoning the name of Cromwell, and resuming the name of Williams. He died in 1661, and was buried at Ramsay.

The Brothers and Sisters of the Lord Protector.

Oliver had two brothers, Henry and Robert, both of whom died in infancy, and seven sisters: Joan, Elizabeth, Catharine, Margaret, Anna, Jane, and Robina. Of these, Joan, born in 1598, died at the age of eight. Of the other six who reached maturity a brief account here follows:

Elizabeth Cromwell, born in 1593; died unmarried in 1672, and was buried within the Communion-rails of the chancel of Wicken. An interesting letter to her finds its place in the last edition of "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches." Mr. Carlyle thus introduces it: "By accident another curious glimpse into the Cromwell family. Sister Elizabeth, of whom, except the date of her birth, and that she died unmarried, almost nothing is known, comes visibly to light here—living at Ely, in very truth, as Noble had guessed she did, quietly boarded at some friendly doctor's there, in the scene and among the people always familiar to her. She is six years older than Oliver—now and then hears from him, we are glad

to see, and receives small tokens of his love of a substantial kind. For the rest, sad news in this letter: son Ireton is dead of fever in Ireland. The tidings reached London just a week ago.

"*For my dear Sister Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, at Dr. Richard Stand's house at Ely. These.*

"Cockpit,
"15 Dec., 1651.

"DEAR SISTER,

"I have received divers letters from you. I must desire you to excuse my not writing so often as you expect. My burden is not ordinary, nor are my weaknesses a few, to go through therewith; but I have hope in a better strength. I have herewith sent you Twenty pounds as a small token of my love. I hope I shall be mindful of you. I wish you and I may have our rest and satisfaction where all saints have theirs. What is of this world will be found transitory, a clear evidence whereof is my son Ireton's death.

"I rest, dear Sister,

"Your affectionate brother,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"P.S.—My Mother, wife, and your friends here remember their loves."

CATHARINE CROMWELL, the Protector's third sister, born 1597, married Roger Whitstone (descended from a Peterborough family), who served in the British forces in the pay of Holland, where also most of her children were born, and where he himself is supposed to have died some time before his brother-in-law's rise to power. The widow and her children then returned to England, Henry, the eldest of them, serving as a sea-captain under Admiral Stokes. But neither he nor his three brothers appear to have left descendants, and the same must be said of their sister Levina, who in 1655 was married to Major Richard

Beke, of Buckinghamshire. This lady is referred to as being near death, in the postscript of a letter by Lord Fauconberg. From another document here following, we gather that, on the Whitstone family returning from abroad, the widow and her daughter Levina shared for some time the dwelling-house of her brother Oliver at the Cockpit, and in that document Mrs. Whitstone is stated to have been "his best-beloved sister."

Among the troops of petitioners besieging the throne of the restored Charles figures Lady Baker (widow of Sir Thomas Baker, of Exeter), who, while recounting the sacrifices which she and her husband had made during the wars, indulges in a long narrative touching her own correspondence with the Cromwell family, undertaken, as she represents, solely with a view to plead the King's cause. She had commenced proceedings by forming the acquaintance of Mrs. Whitstone, "Cromwell's best-beloved sister," at the time when the family was living at the Cockpit, in Westminster, in order to obtain through her means a personal interview with her brother, expressing to her dear friend the confident hope that, if she could only get speech of my Lord General, she doubted not to render him the happiest man alive. In pursuance of this object, she was so far successful on one occasion as to induce Mrs. Whitstone to carry a request in to her brother, who was no farther off than in an adjoining room; but Mrs. Whitstone, after a talk with him, came back with tears in her eyes, saying that he was the dearest brother in the world, and she would never forgive herself if through her means any injury should befall him—in short, my Lady Baker was given to understand that many thought her a dangerous person, an insinuation which she repelled with laughter, asking whether they thought that, because she was a big woman, she must therefore be full of ammunition. Henry Cromwell now enters the room, desiring to know the object of the lady's mission, and, after a renewed

colloquy with his father, revives her hopes of a personal audience. But a personal audience is not yet attainable; her benevolent solicitude is again met with a message of dismissal, and a recommendation to put her thoughts upon paper; and so ended this experimental visit. But shortly afterwards she again waited, by appointment, on Mrs. Cromwell at the Cockpit, and begged Mrs. Whitstone's daughter to announce her arrival. Mrs. Cromwell, who had not yet left her private apartments, returned answer that it was out of no disrespect to Lady Baker that she was not up ready to receive her, but the fact was that she and her lord had not slept that night; she would, nevertheless, let him know that Lady Baker was come. The long-looked-for opportunity seemed now at last within reach; but, alas! instead of my Lord General coming forward to greet her, he was represented by two of his officers—to wit, Pickering and Fiennes—to whom, of course, she stoutly refused to give any explanation. She had not come to see them, and she had nothing to communicate. Mrs. Whitstone now urgently recommended her departure, suggesting that very possibly there might be something brewing against her. Lady Baker, scorning to be supposed accessible to fear while in the discharge of her duty, was proceeding to walk into the garden, where she found her progress again checked by a guard of musketeers, and it required more than one additional messenger yet to persuade her to quit the premises.

It could not have been long after this affair that the widow Whitstone married Colonel John Jones, one of the regicides who suffered the penalty of high treason on the King's return, from and after which event the lady also sinks out of history. Mark Noble observes respecting her: "She is said to have been very unlike to her brother, the Protector."

Margaret Cromwell, the Protector's fourth sister, born 1601, was married to Colonel Valentine Wauton (or

Walton), of Great Stoughton, co. Hunts, a member of a family which for generations back had been in cordial alliance with the Cromwells, and by this marriage the old friendship seemed more than ever confirmed. In one respect only—namely, in silent disapproval of the Protectorate—did Wauton's friendship suffer abatement. On the return of royalism, Colonel Wauton, as having been one of the most impetuous of the late King's judges, could, of course, expect no mercy, and he accordingly retired to some spot in the Low Countries, where he died in the following year, the victim, as was supposed, of disappointment, anxiety, and dread. His first wife, Margaret Cromwell, had been long dead, and his children must have found themselves great sufferers by the total confiscation of their father's estates. These children appear to have been: (1) George, born 1620, died in infancy; (2) Valentine, born 1623; (3) another George, slain at Marston Moor; (4) Robert, a London mercer, ruined by a contract to supply nearly £7,000 worth of cloth at Oliver's funeral; he married a daughter of Colonel Pride; (5) Anna, born 1622; and perhaps (6) Lieutenant Ralph Wauton, who fell in Scotland serving under General Monk.

Anna Cromwell, the Protector's fifth sister, born in 1603, was married to John Sewster, of Wistow, co. Hunts, Esq., and was buried at Wistow in 1646, her husband surviving her thirty-six years. They were a quiet, unambitious race, and the "particular regard" which the Protector entertained towards them was no doubt based upon the Puritanism common to both houses. The children, six in number, were: (1) John, of whom presently; (2) Robert, buried at Wistow, 1705; (3) Lucy, 1631; (4) Robina, named after her aunt, became the wife of Mr. Ambassador Lockhart; (5) Catharine, died in infancy, 1642; (6) Anna, died in infancy, 1647.

John Sewster, eldest son and heir, died in 1680 (the year before his father), leaving two daughters, who both

married, but had no issue. The family pictures descended to Mr. Cowley, of Fenny-Stanton.

Jane Cromwell, the sixth sister of the Protector Oliver, born in 1606, married, 1636, John Disbrowe, afterwards one of the Major-Generals of the Protectorate, and a member of the Upper House. The family was seated at Eltisley, co. Cambs, and were very prominent Puritans in matters both ecclesiastical and civil. John Disbrowe was stoutly opposed to his brother-in-law's acceptance of the kingly title; he was also a main agent in upsetting the Protector Richard. At the Restoration he went abroad, but was summoned back by the proclamation of 1665, requiring certain refugees to report themselves. He lived to exult in the Revolution of 1688, which virtually banished the Stuart race; and it is thought that after the death of his wife, Jane Cromwell, he married a second time.

Lady Jane Disbrowe is believed to have died about the year 1656, as various letters from her husband at that period, while he was executing his major-generalship in Wiltshire, refer to her failing health, and solicit permission to return home.

Robina Cromwell, the Protector's seventh and youngest sister, was married to Dr. Peter French, a Puritan divine, Canon of Christchurch, Oxford, who died in 1655 during the dominion of his brother-in-law. In the following year she became the wife of another divine, the learned and eccentric Dr. John Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester; time of her death unknown. By her first marriage she had one daughter, Elizabeth, married in 1664 to John Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The prelate's children were three in number: (1) A son who died in early manhood; (2) Elizabeth, died unmarried, 1681; (3) Mary, married to James Chadwick, of Wanstead, Esq., and had issue: George, John, and Mary. Of these last three, George left one son, Evelyn; and Mary, as the wife of Edward Fowler, son of Bishop

Fowler of Gloucester, had two daughters, Anna Maria and Elizabeth.

Wills and Registers.

It appears, upon a review of the family history, that the Lord Protector had ten male cousins, many of them stanch Royalists, fighting and dying for their King. Only two of those ten cousins left a son each. Both of these sons bore the favourite family name of Henry, and both of them died, so far as is known, without issue—one in 1673, and the other in 1712—if we may place reliance upon the statements made by the Rev. Mark Noble in his "Memoirs of the House of Cromwell." It is possible that he may have failed to trace quite accurately the history of those ten cousins of the Protector, and that from some of them may have descended one or more of those persons who, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, lived and died in London, and bore the name of Cromwell. The registers of the old burial-ground in Bunhill Fields,* now

* Extracts from Registers of Burials in Bunhill Fields.

1727.	Oct.	18.	...	Mr. Cromwell's child fr. St. Sepulchre's.
1728.	Feb.	27.	...	Mr. Cromwell's child fr. Bartlett's Buildings.
1731.	July	16.	...	Mrs. Cromwell fr. Hamstid (sic).
1732.	Ap.	1.	...	Mrs. C. fr. St. George the Martyr.
				(She was the wife of Major Hy. Cromwell.)
1733.	May	18.	...	Mr. C.'s child fr. St. Sepulchre's.
1738.	Ap.	14.	...	Mrs. C. fr. Snowhill.
1741.	May	8.	...	Mr. C.'s child fr. Lingon's Fields (sic).
1741.	Jn.	23.	...	Mr. C.'s child fr. Grasinlane (sic).
1748.	Aug.	11.	...	Mr. Oliver C. fr. Holeborn (sic).
1748.	Oct.	16.	...	Mr. C. fr. Bridgwater Square.
1752.	Mar.	13.	...	Mr. C. from Bocking in Essex.
1753.	Jly.	25.	...	Miss C. fr. Paternoster Row.
1759.	May	2.	...	Mrs. Sarah C. from Hamstid.
1759.	Dec.	10.	...	Edward Cromwell Esqr. fr. Hamstid.
1762.	Feb.	24.	...	Mr. Rob. C. fr. Cheshunt.
1769.	Jan.	12.	...	Mr. Henry C. fr. "Bartolmew" Close.
1772.	Feb.	5.	...	Mr. Henry C. fr. the Old Bailey.
1772.	July	15.	...	Wm. C. Esqr. fr. "Holeborn."
1772.	July	22.	...	Mr. C.'s child from St. Antlins.
1777.	Oct.	8.	...	Miss C. fr. "Barkhamstead."
1785.	Ap.	22.	...	Mr. Oliver C. fr. the Strand.

kept at Somerset House, and the various registers of the city and suburbs of London,* contain numerous entries of that name. The name is also found four or five times upon the Deed Poll of the Livery Voters in the City of London† in the early years of the eighteenth

1789. Nov. 25. ... Miss L. Cromwell fr. Hampstead.
1813. Feb. 8. ... Mary C. fr. Ponder's End (age 108).
1834. March 7. ... Susannah C. fr. Plamstead End (age 89).

* Extracts from Various London Parish Registers.

1701. John C., son of John, bap. at St. James's, Clerkenwell.
1707. John C., son of John, buried at St. Mary Aldermanbury.
1710. Chas. C. buried at St. Botolph's.
1711. Jane C. married at St. Dioni's to Chas. Faethr.
1718. John C. buried at St. Mary Aldermanbury.
1719. Elizabeth C. buried ditto.
1741. Eliz. C. daughter of James and Joanna bap. at Mr. Keith's Chapel, May Fair.
1743. Oliver C. (a boy) buried at St. James, Clerkenwell.
1746. James C. (a boy) ditto.
1779. Sophia bap. at St. Sepulchre's, Newgate.
1779. Mary C. married at St. George's, Hanover Square, to Robert Lowe.

† Extracts from the Deed Poll of Livery Voters in the City of London.

1700. Francis Cromwell, Citizen and Goldsmith.
1700. Henry Cromwell, Plaisterer.
1710. Willm. Cromwell, Citizen and Baker.
1710. Jonathan Cromwell, Scrivener.

Copy of a Certificate from Register of the Masons' Company, London.

William Cromwell of *London*, *Mason* was admitted into the Freedom aforesaid and sworn in the Mayoralty of *Thos. Wright* Esq^r^ Mayor and *John Wilkes* Esq^r^ Chamberlain and is entered in the book signed with the letter A relating to the Purchasing of Freedoms and the Admissions of Freemen (to wit) The 4th day of April in the 26th Year of the Reign of King *George* the Third And in the Year of our Lord 1786 In *Witness* whereof the Seal of the Office of Chamberlain of the said City is hereunto affixed dated in the Chamber of the Guild-hall of the same City the day and year aforesaid.

Countersigned with the initials J. W.

century. One of them was a citizen and goldsmith, another a plasterer, another a baker, another a scrivener, and another a mason. In Chester's "London Marriage Licenses"* also may be found five or six entries in the seventeenth century; and in Phillimore's "Notebook of London and Middlesex"† some interesting information about the family is contained. The Register of Gray's Inn‡ shows that eight or nine members of the family were at various times enrolled in that home of legal learning. The first was Thomas Cromwell, who afterwards became Earl of Essex, and for a time the greatest man in England under Henry VII.

* Extracts from Chester's "London Marriage Licenses."

1661. John Cromwell of Eling married Joan Bennett.
1663. George C. of Eling married Elizabeth Bolles.
1686. Clement C. of St. Dunstan's married Christina Stanniford.
1700. John C. of St. Mary Abchurch married Elizabeth Aston.
1702. Robert C. of Kensington, widower, married Margaret Benton.

† Extracts from Phillimore's "Notebook of London and Middlesex."

Walter Cromwell of Ealing, yeoman, by his Will dated July 16, 1668, devised Hangers to his son, John, and to his Wife £40 a year. To the Poor of Ealing he bequeathed £10 a year.

In Feltham Churchyard are several monuments to this family.

Mr. Joseph Cromwell, brewer and maltster of Hammersmith, died Nov. 4, 1816, aged 70.

Mr. Geo. Cromwell died July 25, 1825, aged 85.

Jas. Cromwell, Esqr., brewer and maltster of Hammersmith, died June 3, 1841, aged 89.

‡ Extracts from the Admission Register of Gray's Inn.

1524. Thomas Cromwell (afterwards Earl of Essex).
1561. Francis C. (probably son of Sir Richard).
1609. Giles C. of Westerham, Kent.
1620. Henry C. son of Sir Philip of Ramsey.
1654. Henry C. son of the Protector.
1703. Oliver C. son of Henry of St. Andrew's, Holborn.
1709. Samuel C. son of Samuel of Mansfield, Doctor of Medicine.
1747. Richard C. of St. Andrew's, Holborn.
1806. Oliver C. son of Thomas of Enfield.

The wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury,* and the wills at Somerset House,† are full of interest, the earliest carrying us back to the time of Henry VI., and the latest bringing us down to George III.'s reign. When the eye glances over these various records of the past, one is inevitably led to the conclusion that long before the days of Oliver Cromwell there were in and around London not a few persons who bore the same surname. We know that John Cromwell, who died at Lambeth in 1523, left sons; and probably they married and left progeny.

Passing from London to York,‡ we shall find some very

* Wills proved in Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

A.D.
1455. Rolph, Lord Cromwell of Tattershall.
1523. John Cromwell of St. Mary's, Lambeth.
1534. Maude Cromwell of St. Mildred, Poultry.
1546. Sir Rd. Cromwell, alias Williams (sic) of Hinchinbrook in the county of Huntingdon.
(He was the nephew of Thomas, Earl of Essex.)

† Wills at Somerset House.

1748. Thos. C.: his Executors his Brothers Wm. and Henry. He left a son Henry. Affidavit to Will sworn by Rd. Cromwell.
1772. Ann Cromwell, from "Herts" (sic).
1779. Geo. C. of Feltham, yeoman: left sons Geo. and Wm.

‡ Extracts from Wills at the Registry, York.

William Cromewell of lownde. Will dated 26 July 1525; proved 12 October 1525. My bodie to be buried in the church of Sutton of Saint Bartilmowe within the belhouse, and the church to have iij^{s} iiij^{d}. To my broder Rchard Cromewell. To ych on' of my sisters a shepe. Residue to my . . . Cecilie my executrix. Supervisors, Ric. Cromwell my fader and John Atkinson. Witnesses, Vicar of Sutton, John pecke yonger, and Ric. Crowmewell, with others. (Vol. 9, folio 323.)

Richard Cromewell of Sutton. Will dated 18 December 1528; proved 7 May 1529. My bodie to be buried in the church of Sutton of Sainte Bartilmowe. To our ladie of Southwell ij^{d}. To Sutton church Beldyng ij^{s}. To my iij doughters. To Jenet pynchebeke. To ich on' of my childer childer. To Thomas and henry Cromewell my brether childer. To my broder Roberte. Residue to Richard Cromewell my sone. William dpyng dann' and John Atkynson my executors. Witnesses, William hawmond, vicar of Sutton, Thomas Colby the elder, and William fedean. (Vol. 9, folio 396.)

quaint entries of wills made by persons who bore the name of Cromwell. They all belong to the first half of the sixteenth century.

But it is in the West of England that we shall find a greater number of representatives of the name from the sixteenth century onwards.

In the neighbourhood of Devizes and of Bath, the registers of several parish churches have been searched, with the result of showing that from the sixteenth century downwards many persons bearing this name lived there. For example, in the parish register of All Cannings, near Devizes,* we find three entries in the sixteenth century.

Henrie Cromewell of Sutton opon lounde. Will dated 4 November 1546; proved 5 May 1547. My bodie to be buried within the churche yerde of Sainte Barthilmewe of Sutton. To Thomas Cromewell my son. To dorothie my doughter. Residue to Isabell my wif my executrix. Supervisor, Thomas Cromewell my broder. Witnesses, Thomas Cromewell, husbandman, Will'm kendall, and John Preston. (Vol. 13, folio 322.)

Alexander Cromewell of Moregaite in p'ish of Clareborough. Will dated 8 Aprile 1550; proved 9 October 1550. My bodie to be buried within the churche yerde of Clareborough.[1] To Thomas Johnson dwellinge at Bolsore. To John my sone. To Agnes my doughter. To the poore folks at the daie of my buriall viij^{d}. To Jennett Cromwell and to Elizabeth Cromwell my doughters. Residue and make them my executors. Supervisors, Thomas Cromwell my brother and Thomas Cromwell my cousin. Witnesses, Sir William Carre, prest, Roger Bramston, Roberte Spenser, Will'm hides the clerke, with other moo'. (Vol. 13, folio 665.)

Thomas Crowmwell of morhous. Will dated 28 August 1558; proved 13 October 1558. To the me'ding of morhouse chappell iij^{s} iiij^{d}. To the pore folks in Laxton & morhous iij^{s} iiij^{d}. To Will'm browne. To Jasper Sainpall. To leonard Wilson my servant. To barbara temple, Will'm pomfrett, and Dorothe Flyntham. To barbara my wife all my messuage in morhows with all the lands, etc., as they lye in the towne and Feilds in the lordshippes of Laxton and Ossington.[2] Residue to barbara my wife my sole executrix. Witnesses, Sir hugh pullan, vicar of Laxton, Christopher bettnay, George pullaine, and Will'm browne. (Vol. 15, part ii., folio 364.)

* From the Parish of All Cannings, Co. Wilts.

Maria Cromwell, filia Johan' Cromwell baptisata 8 Oct. 1585.
John Cromwell buried 28 Nov. 1586.
John Beale and Elizabeth Cromwell married 12 June 1598.

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[1] Clareborough is near Retford.
[2] Laxton and Ossington are near Newark.

And in the parish of Rodney-Stoke,* numerous entries are found between the years 1656 and 1775. Similarly, in

* From the Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials in the Parish of Rodney Stoke, Somerset, 1654-1787.

1656.	Lenard Cromwell to be . . . Parish Register . . . (greater part illegible)	
1656.	Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Cromwell, born	Oct. 8.
1658.	Leonard, son of Thos. Cromwell, born	Nov. 1.
1660.	Agnes, daughter of Thomas Cromwell and ffrancis his wife, baptised	Feb. 25.
1660.	Leonard Cromwell signs the Rector's declaration ...	Mar. 31
1662.	William and Agnes, son and daughter of Thos. and ffrancis Cromwell, baptised	Aug. 8.
	Agnes, grand-daughter of Thos. Cromwell, buried ...	Aug. 9.
	William, grandson of Thos. Cromwell, buried	Aug. 11.
1663.	Leonard Cromwell, buried	Feb. 21.
1675.	Edward Cromell (*sic*) son of Mark Cromell, buried ...	June 17.
1676.	Mark Cromwell, buried	Oct. 5.
1692.	George Cromwell and Joan Sage, married	Jan. 24.
1694.	George, son of George Cromwell, baptised	Oct. 21.
	George, son of George and Joan Cromwell, buried ...	Nov. 18.
1695.	George, son of George and Joan Cromwell, baptised ...	Mar. 22.
1699.	Esther, daughter of George and Joan Cromwell, baptised ...	Ap. 9.
1705.	Frances, daughter of George and Jone Cromwell, baptised	Feb. 21.
1716.	John, son of George and Jone Cromwell, baptised ...	May 1.
1719.	Hester Cromwell, buried	Feb. 11.
1720.	Hester, daughter of George and Jone Cromwell, baptised ...	Oct. 3.
1720.	George Cromwell and Jone Denmead of Cheddar parish, married	May 17.
1724.	Elizabeth, daughter of George and Jone Cromwell, baptised	Oct. 5.
1727.	George, son of George and Joan Cromwell, Junr., buried ...	Sep. 8.
1729.	Joan Cromwell, buried	Feb. 20.
1731.	Mark Cromwell, buried	Nov. 29.
1733.	Frances Cromwell, buried	Feb. 4.
1736.	John Cromwell and Hannah Williams, married	May 2.
1737.	Frances, daughter of John and Hannah Cromwell, baptised	Aug. 12.
1737-8.	George Cromwell, buried	Jan. 2.
1738-9.	Mary, daughter of John and Hannah Cromwell, baptised ...	Jan. 21.
1741.	George, son of John and Hannah Cromwell, baptised ...	Aug. 9.
1744.	John, son of John and Hannah Cromwell, baptised ...	Ap. 1.
1745.	Jane, daughter of John and Hannah Cromwell, baptised ...	Nov. 3.
1747.	James, son of John and Hannah Cromwell, buried ...	Aug. 2.
1749.	James, son of John and Hannah Cromwell, baptised ...	Ap. 2.
	George Cromwell, Junr., buried	Jan. 21.
1751.	John Cromwell, buried	Nov. 6.
1759.	Jane Cromwell, buried	June 18.
	Jone Cromal (*sic*), buried	Mar. 2.

several of the parish registers of churches in the city of Bath* many entries have been found of the name Cromwell between the years 1726 and 1791.

It seems difficult now to ascertain what was the link of connection between members of the family in Wiltshire and Somersetshire, and those in the Eastern counties and London. So far as is known to the writer of these lines, the name of Cromwell has entirely fallen away in the Eastern counties, where it was so well known and distinguished between two and three centuries ago; and not more than half a dozen representatives of the name are known at the present day, so completely has the hand of Time reduced to obscurity and insignificance the representatives of one of the greatest names inscribed upon the pages of English history.

George Cromal (*sic*), buried ... ... June 22.
1766. John Cromwell, buried ... ... Oct. 22.
1775. James Cromwill (*sic*), buried ... ... June 6.

* Extracts from St. James's Baptismal Register, Bath.

1726. Wm. C. son of James, baptised.
1745. Jas. C. son of Joseph, baptised.
1749. Joseph C. son of Joseph, baptised.
1754. Oliver C. son of Peter, baptised.
1755. John C. son of Oliver, baptised.
1767. James C. son of James, baptised.
1785. Willm. C. son of Oliver and Catherine, baptised.

Extracts from Widcombe Baptismal Register.

1732. Peter C. son of Oliver, baptised.
1751. James C. son of Joseph, baptised.
1754. Benjamin C. son of Joseph, baptised.
1764. Joseph C. son of Joseph, baptised.

Extracts from Walcot Registers, near Bath.

1755. Dec. 30. ... Willm. C. married Elizh. Rawlins.
1757. Oct. 2. ... John C. bapd.
1789. June 7. ... Joseph C. son of Joseph and Mary, bapd.
1797. Nov. 12. ... Oliver C. son of John and Hannah, bapd.

Extract from Baptismal Registers of St. Michael's, Bath.

1760. Mar. 30. ... Ann, daughter of James and Susannah C.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOME ANECDOTES AND TRAITS OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

THE list of officers who fell on the King's side at Marston Moor includes the names of Charles Towneley, of Towneley, Esq., a Lancashire Papist, connected with whose death we have a family tradition illustrative of Oliver's humanity. Towneley's wife, Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Trappes, was, during the anxious period of the battle, waiting with her father at Knaresborough, where the news of her husband's death was brought to her on the following morning and prompted her to go and search for his body. On reaching the fatal field, where the attendants of the camp were stripping and burying the dead, she was accosted by a general officer, to whom she told her melancholy story. He heard her with great tenderness, but earnestly besought her to quit a place where, besides the distress of witnessing such a scene, she might probably be insulted. She complied, and he called a trooper, who took her *en croup*. On her way to Knaresborough she inquired of the man the name of the officer to whose civility she was indebted, and learnt that it was Lieutenant-General Cromwell. The lady survived till 1690, dying at Towneley, and being buried in the family chapel at Burnley,

aged ninety-one. The anecdote was told to Dr. Whitaker, the editor of "Sir George Radcliffe's Correspondence," by the then representative of the family, to whom it had been handed down by his ancestress, Ursula Towneley (a Fermor of Tusmore, and aunt to Pope's Belinda), who had it from the lady herself. (J. Langton Sanford's "Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion," p. 611.)

His Faithful Valet.

During the severe illness which prostrated the Lord General in Edinburgh, he was watched and tended by a most devoted French servant named Duret, one who heartily loved and appreciated him, and was in return treated with unreserved confidence. Cromwell not only committed to him the management of domestic affairs while campaigning, but during this illness he would receive food and medicine from no other hand. This unremitting assiduity on the part of Duret, involving as it did protracted midnight watchings, had at length a fatal result for the watcher himself, and Oliver, as he advanced towards recovery, had the intense grief to discover that his friend was rapidly sinking. It was now his own turn to act as nurse and spiritual consoler. Duret, for himself, cheerfully accepted his fate; he was quite satisfied to lay down his life in such a cause and for such a master, and he merely desired that the case of his mother, sister, and two nephews might be taken into consideration; they were still in France, and were in some measure dependent on his services. "I will look to that," said Cromwell. "My obligations to you are so great that it were impossible for me to do otherwise." Immediately, therefore, after Duret's death, a message was sent to the survivors, begging the entire family to come to England; and at the same time Cromwell gave to his wife, by letter, a full account of the affair, representing that she should treat the strangers on their arrival in London in a manner cor-

responding with her just sense of the merits and good offices of the deceased, and that, as it was entirely to Duret's care, pains, and watchings, that he owed the preservation of his own life, she would proportion the kindness shown to them to the love which she bore to himself as her husband. The Duret family at once accepted the invitation, and were welcomed into Mrs. Cromwell's household with the utmost cordiality. Madame Duret was of course promoted to her table, the sister became a maid of honour, and the two nephews occupied the post of pages. Cromwell had still an arduous campaign to complete, which kept him in Scotland for several weeks longer, and it was not until after fighting the battle of Worcester that he at last found an opportunity of revisiting the sanctuary of home, and of ratifying by his personal salutation the new domestic alliance. The scene at that moment must have been redolent of Christian pathos. The mutual tears and incoherent greetings had an eloquence of their own, for it was through the medium of his daughters, who were better skilled in the French language than himself, that he testified to the old lady how he rejoiced at her arrival, assuring her at the same time that, as she had lost her first son in his service, he would do all possible to fill the vacancy as her second son. Moreover, he took pains to acquire sundry French phrases wherewith to salute her whenever they might chance to meet.

The Spoliation of Churches.

Not only the capture of bells, but every other form of church spoliation, wherever found in England, is habitually, but wrongly, attributed to the personal agency of Cromwell. It was rather the previous age (that of the Reformation) which witnessed these defacements, concerning which let a statement from Goodwyn's "Catalogue of Bishops," published forty years before the Civil War, be heard re-

specting Ely Cathedral, under whose shadow the Cromwells dwelt. Bishop Hotham, he tells us, "lieth entombed in a monument of alabaster that was some time a very stately and goodly building, but now [1601] shamefully defaced, as are also all other monuments of the church."

Whatever may have been the fanaticism of some few iconoclasts, no wanton destruction either in respect of churches, towns, or country-houses, is chargeable on the Cromwell family. It is even told of Oliver that, when the Parliament dismantled Nottingham Castle, he was heartily vexed at it, and told Colonel Hutchinson that if he had been in the House when it was voted, he would not have suffered it to be done. Nor, indeed, are the Parliamentarians, as a rule, to be credited with the house-burnings and town-burnings belonging to that period. Such actions were almost without an exception the work of the Royalists, and were frequently quite independent of the accidents or exigencies of war. This is not a statement loosely made, but is the result of a pretty close and prolonged investigation of the recorded facts. Prince Rupert, a foreigner, and one who acquired the sobriquet of "Prince Robber," first set the example by burning Cirencester and Marlborough, and devastating Fawley Court, belonging to Bulstrode Whitelock. Then followed the destruction of Bridgnorth, unhousing three hundred families, and consuming £90,000 worth of property. Wooburn, in Bedfordshire, was treated in like manner in 1645, and in the year following the combined towns of Great Faringdon and Westbrook, in Berkshire, were burnt, to the value of £56,976, as appraised by judges of assize at Reading. These afflictions, together with the sack of Leicester, the Parliament endeavoured from time to time to mitigate by the action of a Committee of Burnings, and by ordering public contributions for the sufferers to be made either throughout the realm or in a group of counties. (In respect of Leicester, see

the Lords' Journals, vii. 665; the Bridgnorth affair, *ibid.*, ix. 657; Great Faringdon, *ibid.*, x. 485. Consult also the Commons' Journals.)

Yet, if only a tradition survive in any domestic history that the family estate was wrecked in the Civil Wars, it will almost invariably be found that such tradition is made to do duty for the wrong party. The house, so the family annalist usually informs us, "was burnt by the rebels, and the money estate was all lost in the royal cause." Take, for instance, the case of Drake of Ashe. The Drakes, like the families of naval heroes generally, went in roundly for the Parliament, and the petition of Lady Ellen Drake (Commons' Journals, v. 508), as well as a mass of documents among the Composition Papers, all attest that *the destroyer of the family mansion was the Cavalier Lord Pawlet*, who had to make ample restitution for the same. Yet the modern annalist of the Drake family tells us that it was the work of the rebels. (Burke's "Extinct and Dormant Baronetage.")

Dean Stanley, in his "Memorials of Westminster Abbey," remarks that: "After the overthrow of Charles I., the Abbey was placed for twelve years in the hands of the Commonwealth and the Protector. The royal monuments in the Abbey, which suffered cruelly under Henry VIII., remained uninjured, so far as we know, under Cromwell." This testimony should never be forgotten when one hears the verger of a cathedral ascribe every act of vandalism to Cromwell.

The Ceremony of Kissing Hands.

"Our Lord Protector gave a noble audience to the Dutch ambassadors last Saturday. His part was just as the King's used to be, only kissing his hand excepted." (From an intercepted letter, March, 1654.) The testimony of the three Ambassadors themselves, Beverning, Nieuport, and Jongestall, is still more graphic. After the final inter-

change of friendly expressions in the banqueting-room at Whitehall, "we presented unto his Highness twenty of our gentlemen, who went in before us, being followed by twenty more, to have the honour to kiss his hand. But instead thereof, his Highness advanced near the steps and bowed to all the gentlemen one by one, and put out his hand to them at a distance, by way of congratulation."

In 1653, some person addressing him in St. James's Park, and omitting what was called "the homage of the hat," induced him to relate, with a smile, a circumstance which he remembered to have witnessed on the same spot some years back, when the late King was once walking there. The Duke of Buckingham on that occasion was advancing towards his Majesty without uncovering, whereupon an indignant Scot in the King's train at once struck off the Duke's hat.

But while Oliver gracefully waived the accustomed forms of personal worship, he was not solicitous to abate the innocent parade of sovereignty which might be supposed due to the nation's representative. For instance, "My Lord of Leda gave his adieu yesterday to my Lord Protector, who sent his own coach of six white horses. Certain it is, as many told me, that none of the English Kings had ever any such. And with it ten more coaches of six horses, with many cavaliers. So was Leda conducted and re-conducted; but what he did at the interview is not known." (James Darcy to Dr. John Smith of Dunkirk, June 13, 1655. See also Carlyle's narrative of the ceremonious reception of the Swedish Ambassador in July, 1655.)

His Love of Horses and other Animals, and also of Races and other Sports.

The epicedium by Andrew Marvell says:

> "All, all is gone of our or his delight
> In horses fierce, wild deer, or armour bright."

Writing to Cornet Squire just after Gainsborough fight, he says: "I will give you all you ask for that black horse you won last fight." Two months later Squire captures another horse, for which also he makes application: "I will give you sixty pieces for that black horse you won at Horncastle, if you hold to a mind to sell him, for my son, who has a mind to him." In after-days Longland, his agent at Leghorn, and Sir Thomas Bendysh, in Turkey, busied themselves in procuring Barbary horses. Races continued in Hyde Park during the Protectorate; and Dick Pace, the owner of divers horses who live in racing chronicles, was the Protector's stud-groom. His adventure in the Park when attempting to drive his own coach-horses is too well known to need repetition. We therefore pass to the "wild deer" mentioned by Marvell. This probably refers to the twelve reindeer, which, together with their two Laplander drivers, were sent by the Queen of Sweden in 1654. (See Bulstrode Whitelocke's narrative.) Oliver is also said to have "fallen in love with the company" of Sir James Long, of Wiltshire, a gentleman eminent as a naturalist. During the fighting days of 1645 this knight, then Sheriff of Wilts, was, together with his entire regiment, captured by Cromwell and Waller, near Devizes. Sir James is described by his friend Aubrey as orator, soldier, historian, and romancer, as excelling in the arts of fencing, falconry, horsemanship, and the study of insects—in short, a very accomplished gentleman. The belligerents probably had not met since the scrimmage at Devizes placed Sir James in a private position, till one day when Oliver (now Protector), hawking on Hounslow Heath, recognised his old antagonist, who, we may suppose, was engaged in the like pastime. The knight's discourse was so skilfully adjusted to the altered state of affairs that Oliver forthwith fell in love with his company, and commanded him to wear his sword, and to meet him again when they should next fly their hawks. All which

caused some of the stricter cavaliers to look upon Sir James with an evil eye. (Aubrey.)

His Opinions on Agriculture and the Scheme for a Canal between Bristol and London.

John Aubrey says: "I heard Oliver Cromwell, Protector, at dinner at Hampton Court in 1657 or 8, tell the Lord Arundel of Wardour and the Lord Fitz-Williams that he had been in all the counties of England, and that the Devonshire husbandry was the best. And at length we [in Wiltshire] have obtained a great deal of it." Hartlib, a Pole, who translated Child's Treatise on the Agriculture of Flanders, obtained a pension from the Protector. It was, no doubt, the canals of Flanders which suggested the scheme for uniting by a canal the Bristol Avon with the Thames, which Captain Francis Matthew having illustrated with a map, the Protector would have put into execution had he lived long enough. ("Natural History of Wilts.") A hundred and thirty years later it was accomplished by John Rennie.

His Natural Eloquence, and Protection of Learning.

Bishop Burnet, on the authority of Lieutenant-General Drummond (afterwards Lord Strathallan), mentions that in Drummond's presence Cromwell engaged in a long discourse with a group of Scots Commissioners, on the nature of the regal power according to the principles of Mariana and Buchanan; and Drummond's conclusion was that Cromwell had manifestly the better of the Commissioners at their own weapon and upon their own principles. Indeed, a modern French writer declares him to have been the only eloquent man in the kingdom. "En effet," says Villemain, "dans la Révolution Anglaise, il n'y eut qu'un homme éloquent, et c'est celui qui aurait pu se passer de l'être, grace à son épée—Cromwell. Hormis Cromwell, éloquent parce qu'il avait de grandes idées et de grandes

passions, la Révolution Anglais n'inspirait que des rhéteurs théologiques, en qui la vérité du fanatisme même était faussée par un verbiage convenu."

Beverning, one of the Dutch Ambassadors, writing home in 1653, says: "Last Saturday I had a discourse with his Excellency above two hours, no one else being present. He spoke his own language so distinctly that I could understand him. I answered again in Latin."

Touching the various schemes adopted during his brief tenure of power for the advancement of learning, it is unnecessary to enlarge. A passage from Anthony à Wood, a very unexceptional witness in a case of this nature, may suffice. In his biographical notice of Henry Stubbs, keeper of the Bodleian, who took his degree in the days of Owen, he remarks: "While he continued undergraduate it was usual with him to discourse in the public schools very fluently in the Greek tongue. But since the King's restoration we have had no such matter, which shows that education and discipline were more severe then than afterwards, when scholars were given more to liberty and frivolous studies." It should not be forgotten that Oliver proposed to found a University at Durham for the benefit of education in the northern parts of the kingdom, and that Westminster School and its famous head-master—Dr. Busby—shared his protection and favour all through the troublous days of the Civil War.

His Interview with Archbishop Usher.

The Irish prelate was considerably his senior; and this circumstance, combined with his fervid Churchmanship, enabled him to present a defiant front when in colloquy with the Protector, who, nevertheless, was most generously disposed towards him, and anxious to have a courteous interview. Usher's own account is that he at last consented to accept the invitation of the Protector only lest further evil towards his brethren should grow out of his

refusal. At their first meeting, the Protector's opening observations about advancing the Protestant interest in Europe appeared to the Archbishop little better than "canting discourse"; and as he was evidently too much of an enthusiast to take his (the Archbishop's) advice in the matter, a civil dismissal closed the affair. On the next occasion, the Archbishop, carrying in his hand a petition for enlarged liberty to the clergy in the matter of preaching, found Oliver under the hands of a doctor, who was removing a boil from his breast. After begging his guest to be seated, Oliver said:

"If this core were once out, I should be quickly well."

Archbishop: "I doubt the core lies deeper. There is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well."

Oliver: "Ah, so there is indeed!" and sighed.

The Archbishop, finally gathering that the curb was not to be removed from the Royalist clergy, departed to his home in grief, and placed on record his indignant judgment: "This false man has broken his word. Royalty will now speedily return." It is commonly added that at the death of Usher, which followed shortly after, the Protector decreed a public funeral for him in Westminster Abbey, but left the family to bear the charges, which Henry Cromwell's testimony indirectly shows to be destitute of all credibility. (See also the *Mercurius Politicus*, March and April, 1656.)

His Contributions to the Repairs of a Church.

Richard Byfield, the Rector of Sutton, in Surrey, contested the repairs of the church with his patron, Sir John Evelyn, of Godstone. To put an end to the contest, the Protector got them together in his presence, when Sir John charged the minister with reflecting on him in his sermons, which, of course, Byfield repelled. Oliver then addressed the belligerents in the following terms: "I

doubt, Sir John, there is something indeed amiss. The word of God is penetrating, and if, as I suspect, it has found you out, you will do well to search your ways." He succeeded in making them good friends before parting, and, to mollify the knight's chagrin, ordered his secretary Malyn to pay him £100 towards the repairs of the church. Byfield was afterwards one of the ejected of 1662.

His Patronage of Music and Painting.

The Protector of England had many personal traits in common with Martin Luther. Zwingle's zeal in destroying pictures and organs in the churches of Zurich has often been contrasted with the conduct of Luther, who systematically protected and honoured art. As Carlyle has said: "Death defiance on the one hand, and such love of music on the other. I could call these the two opposite poles of a great soul. Between these two all great things had room." And again: "Who is there that in logical words can express the effect that music has on us?—a kind of inarticulate, unfathomable speech, which leads us to the edge of the Infinite, and lets us for moments gaze into that."

Cromwell's order that Dr. Wilson should regularly give his music lecture at Oxford, though passed over by Walton, is commented on in an essay in the *Edinburgh Review* (No. 193). John Hingston, a scholar of Orlando Gibbons, after being in the service of Charles I., became organist to Cromwell at a pension of £100 a year, and instructed his daughters in music. His portrait was in the music school at Oxford. (Braybroke's Pepys, December 10, 1667.) The first step towards the revival of dramatic music after the Civil War took place in 1653, in the performance of Shirley's mask of Cupid's death, and three years later Davenant obtained a license to open a theatre for operas. A modern chronicler of the town of

Tewkesbury, while gossiping about its abbey, narrates as follows: "The organ, now placed in a gallery between two of the pillars in the nave, beneath which is the principal entrance to that portion of the church appropriated for Divine service, is not more distinguished for its exterior appearance and great powers than for the singularity of its history. It originally belonged to Magdalen College, Oxford. Oliver Cromwell, who was fond of music, and particularly of that of an organ, which was proscribed under his Government, was so delighted with the harmony of this instrument that, when it was taken down from its station in the college, according to the Puritanical humour of the times, as an abominable agent of superstition, he had it conveyed to Hampton Court, where it was placed in the great gallery for his entertainment. It remained there till the Restoration, when it was sent back to Oxford; but another organ having been presented to the college, it was, in the year 1737, removed to Tewkesbury." The local cicerone of Tewkesbury further avers that this was the instrument on which John Milton was in the habit of performing for the delectation of the Protector's family, a perfectly possible case, and, were it authenticated, a very welcome fact, for it would be the furnishing of one instance, in the absence of any other, of Cromwell and Milton being sometimes found in personal communion.

At the sale of Charles I.'s pictures, Oliver secured the cartoons of Raphael to the nation for £300, and fifty years later William III. took measures for their preservation and restoration. In the interval they had a narrow escape. Charles II. was on the point of selling them to Louis XIV., and it was all that the Lord Treasurer could do to save them from the clutches of Barillon. Probably Danby found by some other means the money they were to have raised. Yet we fancy that even Charles II. would hardly have thrown away the chance, which in more modern days

presented itself to an English Prime Minister, of securing the entire collection of paintings in the Pitti Palace. When the French republican armies were overrunning the North of Italy, and commencing their wholesale system of plunder, the Grand-Duke of Florence offered this magnificent gallery to the English nation for the comparatively small sum of £100,000; but this offer was declined by the English Government.

When the Dutch Envoys arrived in March, 1653, to settle the terms of peace, they seem to have brought over with them some of Titian's paintings. The intercepted letter of a Royalist (name unknown) has the following: "One that was present at the audience given in the banqueting-house told me that Cromwell spent so much time looking at the pictures, that he judged by it that he had not been much used heretofore to Titian's hand." (Thurloe, ii. 144.) Might we not rather say that, the more he had seen of Titian, the longer he loved to linger?

Beyond the pencils employed to execute the portraits of the members of his family, there is not much evidence of Oliver's patronage of living artists. Three entries in the Exchequer accounts for 1657-58 refer to a sum of £150 paid "to Mr. Francis Clyne for the designing of two stories by the tapestry men." He also engaged a naval painter named Isaac Sailmaker, a pupil of Gildrop, to execute a sea-view of the English fleet as it lay before Mardyke during Sir John Reynolds' assault on that fort in 1657. Sailmaker lived to paint the naval fight between Sir George Rooke and the Count de Toulouse.

On February 22, 1649, Lieutenant-General Cromwell reports from the Council of State "that divers goods belonging to the State are in danger of being embezzled, whereupon it is ordered that the care of the public library at St. James and of the statues and pictures there be committed to the Council of State to be preserved by them." (Commons' Journals.)

The goods here referred to were the pictures, statues, household furniture, and other personal estate of the late King, which the House thereupon ordered to be inventoried, appraised, and sold. The sale soon afterwards commenced, and went on till August, 1653. The prices were fixed, but if more was offered, the highest bidder became the purchaser. Part of the goods were sold by inch of candle. The buyers, called "contractors," signed a writing for the several sums; but if they disliked the bargain they were at liberty to withdraw from the engagement on payment of a fourth part of the sum stipulated. Among the contractors appears Mr. John Leigh, who, August 1, 1649, buys goods for the use of Lieutenant-General Cromwell to the value of £109 5s., and on the 15th are sold to the Right Hon. the Lady Cromwell goods to the amount of £200.* But no sooner was Oliver in possession of the supreme power than he not only put a stop to the sale, but detained from some of the purchasers goods for which they had contracted. Such, at least, was the affirmation made in a petition addressed, after the Protector's death, to the Council of State by Major Edward Bass, Emanuel de Critz, William Latham, and Henry Willett, in behalf of themselves and divers others, in which they represent: "That in the year 1651 the petitioners did buy of the contractors for the sale of the late King's goods the several parcels thereunder named, and did accordingly make satisfaction unto the treasurer for the same. But forasmuch as the said goods are in Whitehall, and some part thereof in Mr. Kinnersley's custody in keeping, the petitioners do humbly desire their Honours' order, whereby they may receive the said goods, they having been great sufferers by the late General Cromwell's detaining thereof." The goods specified are hangings and statues, the latter adorning the gardens at Whitehall. This charge against the Protector of some-

* This last-mentioned may have been a Countess of Ardglass.

thing little short of felony is one which there are probably now no means of adjusting. Had the petitioners made their appeal during his lifetime, we might have had an honest explanation.

"*Oliver Cromwell at Hampton Court*"

is the title of a paper contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* by John B. Marsh, containing a survey of the state of the palace and park just before the Restoration, and an account of the drawing up of an inventory of their contents by the Sergeant-at-Arms, Mr. C. Dendy, and Mr. John Embree, derived from the State Paper Office. But as the association of the works of art there with the Protector's memory is no more than an accident, which he shares with his predecessors and successors, Mr. Marsh's facts, though highly interesting throughout, hardly claim more specific notice in this place than may be supplied by a few random extracts.

According to tradition, Cromwell's bedchamber was upon the ground-floor, and had in the time of Charles I. been used as a day room—the same room where it is said the King with some of his children was once standing at the open window, when a gipsy woman solicited permission to tell the children's fortune. The King refused, whereupon she handed him a small mirror, in which, with terror, he beheld a severed head. To give the legend rotundity, she is further credited with a prophecy that when a dog should die in that room the King's son would regain his throne, all which came to pass, the dog being Cromwell's favourite.

What is supposed to have been the King's own bedroom remained unoccupied and unfurnished during the time of Cromwell.

The Earl and Lady Fauconberg's bedroom had been stripped before the inventory was taken; but we are told that in one of their rooms, formerly occupied by the Duke of Richmond, the walls were hung about with old

green perpetuano, and there were two black stools, three folding stools, and one footstool covered with old green cloth. The Lady Frances Cromwell, widow of Mr. Rich, had "lodgings" in what was formerly the late King's cabinet room. Then followed a list of the furniture, all which had belonged to Charles I. There were three rooms used by Lady Claypoole as nurseries: one was at the end of the passage leading to the tennis-court; a second was a portion of the armoury, a room hung round with striped stuff; and the third was a room formerly occupied by the "Bishop of Canterbury," which, from its furniture and hangings, must have been the largest and the best. This chamber contained one of the few looking-glasses remaining in the palace (four only occurring in the entire inventory), and is described as "One large looking-glass in an ebony frame, with a string of silk and gold."

Colonel Cromwell and John Howe the preacher had bedrooms adjoining each other. Howe's room is "hung round in gray-striped stuff, and contains one standing bed, with feather-bed and bolster, two blankets, and a rug. The furniture of the like striped stuff. One bed had a head-cloth and four curtains. Dr. Clarke lay not far from Mr. Howe, and in his room were one half-headed bedstead, one deal table, and a form. Colonel Philip Jones, the comptroller, occupied as a bedroom that which had formerly been the Lord Chamberlain's." The lodgings of all the personal attendants of the above are also fully described. "In a room below stairs, where the servants dine, formerly called the vestry," there are five tables and eight forms.

The gardens boasted of various sun-dials, a large fountain surmounted with a brass statue of Arethusa, and divers objects in marble. In the privy-garden there was a brass statue of Venus, ditto of Cleopatra, and marble statues of Adonis and Apollo. Of these, the Venus is the only one now remaining, which the modern palace guide

calls Diana. George II. is credited with having removed the others to Windsor.

Hampton Court has been greatly altered since Cromwell's time. The Great Hall, of course, remains, in which were two organs, the larger one a gift from Cromwell's friend, Dr. Goodwyn, president of Magdalen College, Oxford; but the traditions of this part of the building belong to Wolsey's entertainments and subsequent dramatic pageants rather than to any scenes in the Puritan Protector's life. The Mantegna Gallery, with its vast pictures representing the triumphs of Julius Cæsar (purchased by Charles I.) it is reasonably thought must have often attracted his notice, though this is mere conjecture. But in respect of the armoury there is ground for thinking that the collection of specimens may have been in great part the result of his personal taste, for Andrew Marvell tells us that he delighted in bright armour.

"Here Edward VI. was born, and here his mother, Jane Seymour, died. Here Queen Mary and Philip of Spain spent their dull honeymoon, and here Queen Elizabeth held her Christmas festivities. Here James I. sat as Moderator, and listened to the arguments of Presbyterians and Churchmen, and here Queen Anne his wife died, in 1618. Here Charles I. and Queen Henrietta passed their honeymoon, and here Charles I. was kept a prisoner previous to his trial and execution. Here Mary Cromwell was married to Earl Fauconberg in 1657, and here, in 1658, died little Oliver and his mother, the Lady Elizabeth Claypoole; while almost at the same time Cromwell himself was seized with the illness which eventually terminated in his death at Whitehall."

Oliver's Wound at Marston Moor.

The proclamation offering a large reward for killing the Protector, issued in 1654 by Charles II., has been duly noticed by Carlyle. Though no adventurer ever laid claim to the glittering reward promised, there was a certain

young gentleman who lived to taste the royal bounty in consideration of the inferior feat of wounding Oliver in battle. This was Marcus Trevor, Esq., who declared himself the author of the sword-thrust which drew blood from Oliver at Marston Moor; and Trevor's claim being allowed at the Restoration, he was two years later created Viscount Dungannon. At the Archæological Meeting at Shrewsbury in 1855, a modern Viscount Dungannon displayed from Brynkinault the original patent, being a richly-emblazoned document in which Richard St. George, Ulster King-of-Arms, grants to the first Lord Dungannon a lion and a wolf as supporters, and recites that King Charles II., taking into consideration the faithful services of his beloved councillor, Mark Trevor, Esq., and particularly his valiant action at the battle of Marston Moor, where, after many high testimonies of his valour and magnanimity, he that day personally encountered that arch-rebel and tyrant Oliver Cromwell, and wounded him with his sword, had created the said Mark Trevor Viscount Dungannon. Dated September 20, 1662. (See also the Peerages under the article "Downshire.")

His Assassination attempted.

The story of his being shot at by Miss Granville, on his passage into the City to dine with the Lord Mayor in 1654, has been discussed more than it merits. Raguenet, who was the first to print it, in his French history of the Protector, says that he derived it from the manuscript of M. de Brosse, docteur de la faculté de Paris, an eye-witness of the event, which manuscript he was ready to show to anyone who desired it. According to our French authority, the young lady's lover, who was brother to the Duke of Buckingham, had fallen at the battle of St. Neot's by Cromwell's own hand. Hence her long-nursed revenge, and until the above opportunity presented itself she practised pistol-shooting at a picture of Oliver. As the cavalcade passed her balcony on its way to the City, she dis-

charged her weapon at something more substantial than his picture, but the shot took effect only on the horse of his son, Henry Cromwell, whereupon she delivered herself in an appropriate tragic speech, and her attendants assuring those who were sent to arrest her that her mind had long been in a disordered state, the scene shifts to Grocers' Hall, where my Lord Mayor must have been verily guilty of thoughtless discourtesy if he failed to congratulate his Highness on his recent escape. On this point, however, the reporters are unaccountably silent, though otherwise the day's proceedings are graphically described in the *Perfect Diurnal* of February 6 to 13.

Even that (so styled) amiable gentleman, Mr. Secretary Nicholas, saw no impropriety in the plan of assassination. "We have here seen," says he, writing to Lord Culpepper from Bruges, "a most excellent treatise entitled 'Killing no Murder,' dedicated to Cromwell, showing both Scripture and many reasons that it is not only lawful, but even necessary, to kill him, being an usurper and a tyrant who ought no more to have any law than a wolf or a fox; and I hear that Cromwell is no less fearful than Cain was after the murder of his brother Abel."

Fairfax's Desertion and Hutchinson's.

One of the deep sorrows of the Protector's latter days was the alienation of former friends. His secretary, Thurloe, who perhaps more than any other of those about him could estimate its depressing effect, is frequently quite touching in his narratives to Henry Cromwell of "the great man's" trials. He could bear with comparative indifference the barking of Cornet Day and John Sympson, who, preaching — as it was called — no farther off than Allhallows Church, assailed the Government as "the thieves and robbers of Whitehall." But when more creditable divines resisted his project for the admission of Jews into the country, and in a

variety of ways checked his intelligent patriotism, Thurloe writes:

"I do assure you his Highness is put to exercise every day with the peevishness and wrath of some persons here. But the Lord enables him with comfort to bear the hard speeches and reproaches he is from day to day loaded with, and helps him to return good for evil, and goodwill for their hatred—which certainly is the way to heap coals of fire on their head, to melt them and bring them into a better frame and temper." And again, shortly after: "His Highness meets with his trials here at home, of all sorts; being under daily exercises from one hand or another. I wish he may not have occasion to say, My familiar friends in whom I trusted have lift up their heel against me. These things should make him and all his relations to depend the more upon God, and to take heed of all carnal confidences. Trials work patience, and patience experience, and experience hope. That hope will never make ashamed, but all hope in men will."

Here is one of Carlyle's sketches: "Colonel Hutchinson, as his wife relates it, Hutchinson, his old battle-mate, coming to see him on some indispensable business, much against his will—Cromwell follows him to the door in a most fraternal, domestic, conciliatory style, begs that he would be reconciled to him, his old brother-in-arms; says how much it grieves him to be misunderstood, deserted by true fellow-soldiers dear to him from of old. The rigorous Hutchinson, cased in his Presbyterian formula, sullenly goes his way."

Among trials of this nature, Fairfax's desertion must have especially increased his sense of isolation, and tested his magnanimity. Thomas Lord Fairfax, enriched by the forfeited spoils of the profligate Duke of Buckingham, had an only daughter, Mary, who, though very unattractive in appearance, it was thought might be utilized to bring about a reconciliation with the royal exiles, and at the

same time ensure the settlement of the newly-acquired estates. The young lady's mother, who was a Vere, was probably the contriver of this precious scheme. Whether or not Buckingham had previously made overtures for the hand of Frances Cromwell, as commonly reported, must ever remain doubtful; but we may be quite sure that it was with no sort of reference to that transaction that Cromwell viewed the Fairfax intrigue with disgust and pity, for in this he did but share the sentiment of all the honest party. The marriage, nevertheless, was performed with great splendour at Nun-Appleton in Yorkshire, in September, 1657, which was only a few weeks before that of Frances Cromwell with Lord Rich; and Fairfax then posted off to London to have a talk with the Protector about it. Thurloe can best tell us what passed. In a letter to Henry Cromwell, he says: "I suppose your lordship hath had a full account of the Duke of Buckingham's marrying the lord Fairfax's daughter. My Lord Fairfax was here this day, 27 Oct., with his Highness to desire favour in behalf of the Duke and his new wife, the Duke being now sought for to be committed to the Island of Jersey. His Highness dealt friendly with him. but yet plainly, and advised him to do that now, which he should have done before, that is, to consult with his old friends, who had gone along with him in all the wars, as to what was fit for him to do; and no longer listen to those who had brought him into this evil, but to regard them as enemies both to his honour and his interest. My Lord Fairfax laboured to justify himself as well as he could. He was willing to believe that the Duke was a better man than the world took him to be;—and so his Highness and he parted." And the parting appears to have been final, and the alienation complete. Those who watched the ex-General stalking from the presence-chamber, took notice that he cocked his hat and cast his cloak under his arm in a style which he was wont to adopt when

his wrath was roused. He lived to see verified the words of his brother-in-arms—that both honour and interest had been bartered for this specious alliance. A few years later his promising son-in-law, in furtherance of an intrigue with the Countess of Shrewsbury, slew that lady's husband in a duel, and Fairfax outlived the event. As for his own dear daughter, naught but neglect and obloquy fell to her share, as a matter of course.

"It is high time," observes a recent critic, "that the great and good Lord Fairfax, as Mr. Markham calls him, should be made to appear in his true contemptible light;" and he refers, among other authorities, to Fairfax's own "Apologia," which, it is averred, clears his memory from not a single blot. (*Notes and Queries*, February 24, 1877.) Possibly true enough. But what, it may be asked, is the use of parading one defaulter, when the entire population was in full march back to Egypt? Though otherwise the spectacle is not unsuggestive, which presents to view one historic name after another dropping away from the once beloved "Cause" and hiding itself in ignominy, as if to leave the Cyclopean figure of the Puritan King unapproachable in its solitary grandeur.

A singular medal, known as the Cromwell and Fairfax medal, is preserved at Brussels, and was first published in England by Mr. Henfrey. The obverse bears a head of Cromwell wearing a sort of imperial crown. The head is double, and when reversed represents that of a demon. In front of the faces is the word "Cromwel." The surrounding Dutch legend ("Den een mens is den anderen siin duivel") means, "This one [Cromwell] is the evil genius of the other" [Fairfax]. The reverse has a head representing Fairfax in a Puritan hat, reversible in like manner, and then displaying a fool's head with cap and bells, and opposite the faces the word "Farfox." The circumscription in this case ("Deen sot is den anderen siin gek") signifies, "This simpleton [Fairfax] is the other's [Cromwell's] fool" or dupe. ("Numismata Cromwelliana.")

Oliver's Corpse torn from Westminster Abbey.

Here follows the mason's receipt of wages for exhuming the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, at the Restoration of Charles II., as copied by Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, Secretary of the Royal Society.

"May the 4th day. 1661. Rec^{d} then in full of the worshipful Sergeant Norfolk, fiveteen shillings for taking up the corpes of Cromell and Ierton and Brasaw. Rec. by mee, John Lewis."

For a full account of the expulsion from the Abbey of these and sundry other of the buried heroes of the Commonwealth, the reader is referred to the classic pages of Dean Stanley's "Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey." The following appear to have escaped the execution of the warrant: Elizabeth Claypoole; the Earl of Essex; Grace, wife of General Scott, a regicide; General Worsley; and George Wilde, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

Over the breast of the Protector was found a copper plate, double gilt, engraved on the one side with the arms of the Commonwealth impaling those of the deceased, and upon the reverse this legend: "Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ. Natus 25° Aprilis Anno 1599. Inauguratus 16° Decembris 1653. Mortuus 3° Septembris Anno 1658, hic situs est." This plate, together with the canister in which it was enclosed, was appropriated by Mr. Sergeant Norfolk, of the Heralds' College above mentioned, who at first imagined it to be gold. From him it descended, through his daughter, Mrs. Hope Gifford, of Colchester, into the hands of the Hon. George Hobart, of Nocton in Lincolnshire, and from that family it has again passed into the possession of the present Earl of Ripon and De Grey.

For "the savage ceremonial," as Dean Stanley termed

it, "which followed the Restoration," the Dean himself made what atonement he could by placing a large tablet in the centre of the apse of Westminster Abbey, engraved as follows:

IN THIS VAULT WAS INTERRED

OLIVER CROMWELL. 1658

AND IN OR NEAR IT

HENRY IRETON. HIS SON IN LAW. 1651

ELIZABETH CROMWELL. HIS MOTHER. 1654

JANE DESBOROUGH. HIS SISTER. 1656

ANNE FLEETWOOD.

ALSO OFFICERS OF HIS ARMY AND COUNCIL.

RICHARD DEANE. 1653

HUMPHREY MACWORTH. 1654

SIR WILLIAM CONSTABLE. 1655

ROBERT BLAKE. ADMIRAL. 1657

DENNIS BOND. 1658

JOHN BRADSHAW. PRESIDENT OF THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE. 1659

AND MARY BRADSHAW. HIS WIFE.

THESE WERE REMOVED IN 1661.

The bones of Oliver share the honour which has apparently been common to heroes from Moses downwards—that of becoming the subject of fierce debate and endless conjecture. Dryden said of him: "His ashes in

a peaceful urn shall rest"; and perhaps Dryden for once was right. At any rate, no attempt will be made in this place to marshall the rival claims either of the aforesaid urn, or of the river Thames, or the field of Naseby, or the vault of the Claypooles at Northampton, or the crypt beneath Chiswick Church, close to the residence of the Fauconbergs, or the Fauconbergs' home in Yorkshire, or, lastly, of the storm fiend, who howled through the two nights or more preceding his death. But inasmuch as it is pleasant to meet with any corroboration of the filial devotion of Lady Mary Fauconberg, of which, indeed, there was never any reasonable doubt, but which the Royalists have sometimes sought to tarnish, an exception will be briefly made in favour of the Newburgh tradition, as the one also which more recently than others has invited public attention. The following passage from an account of Sir George Orby Wombwell's home-life at Newburgh is quoted from the *World* of September 11, 1878:

"There is, however, a mightier memory than that of Laurence Sterne associated with Newburgh. In the long gallery is a glass case containing the saddle, holsters, bit, and bridle of the greatest prince who ever ruled in England. The saddle and holster cases are by no means of Puritan simplicity, being of crimson velvet, heavily embroidered in gold. The pistols are of portentous length, and very thin in the barrel; and the bit is a cruel one, with the tremendous cheek-pieces common two centuries ago. Doubtless the Lord Protector liked to keep his horse like his Roundheads—well in hand. Not quite opposite to these relics hangs the portrait of a lady clad in dark-green and demureness. This serious-looking dame is Mary Cromwell, wife of the second Lord Fauconberg. It was she who, with keen womanly instinct, sharpened yet more by filial affection, foresaw that, the Restoration once achieved, the men who had fled before

Oliver at Naseby and Worcester would not allow his bones to rest in Westminster. At dead of night his corpse was removed from the vault in the Abbey, and that of some member of the undistinguished crowd substituted for it. In solemn secrecy the remains of him of whom it was said, 'If not a king, he was a man whom it was good for kings to have among them,' were conveyed to Newburgh, where they yet repose, the insane fury of the Royalist ghouls, who hung the supposed body of Cromwell, as well as that of Ireton, on the gallows at Tyburn, having thus been cheated of its noblest prey. The tomb of Cromwell occupies the end of a narrow chamber at the head of a flight of steep stairs, and is an enormous mass of stonework built and cemented into the walls, apparently with the object of making it impenetrable. There is no reason to doubt the truth of this story, preserved in the Bellasyse family for two centuries and a quarter. It is not a legend, but a genuine piece of family history, and implicitly believed on the spot. It is needless to say that the over-curious have again and again begged the lords of Newburgh to have the tomb opened, but this request has met with invariable refusal, even when proffered by the most illustrious personages. 'No, no,' observes Sir George Wombwell, heartily as ever, but quite firmly, 'we do not make a show of our great relative's tomb, and it shall not be opened. In this part of Yorkshire we no more dig up our remote great-uncles than we sell our grandmothers. The Protector's bones shall rest in peace—at least, for my time.'" (*Notes and Queries*, October 5, 1878.) Sir George Wombwell, the second Baronet, married in 1791 Lady Anne Bellasyse, daughter of Henry, second Earl of Fauconberg.

The Newburgh tradition might very safely take a slightly altered and more credible form by making the acquisition of the Protector's body an event subsequent to the Tyburn exposure. Whether or not the three bodies were, after

decapitation, buried beneath the gallows, as commonly alleged, two of them, at least, were recovered by friends and carried off, as proved by Mr. Godfrey Meynell's discovery of the coffins of Ireton and Bradshaw in the vault beneath Mugginton Church in Derbyshire ; and in respect of the recovery of the third body, Lord and Lady Fauconberg were just the persons who of all others might be most reasonably credited with it. Compared with them, there were not at that moment any of the Protector's representatives possessing a tithe of the power and influence necessary for the accomplishment of so hazardous a scheme. The first place of concealment might then have been the Chiswick crypt. Beyond this point we tremble to advance.

The Head of Oliver Cromwell.

The genuineness of the embalmed head belonging to Mr. Horace Wilkinson, of Sevenoaks, is, of course, dependent on the previous question, Was it the Protector who was hung at Tyburn ? That the head in question is the same which (together with a portion of the pikestaff) fell from the pinnacle of Westminster Hall in James II.'s reign is sufficiently credible, and every portion of its internal evidence is so far favourable as to make it impossible to gaze on the relic without deep emotion. The history of its transmission and of its present condition has been exhaustively treated by the late C. Donovan, Esq., in two numbers of the *Phrenological Journal* for 1844. There is also "An Account of the Embalmed Head of Oliver Cromwell at Shortlands House in Kent," by Colonel Sir James Edward Alexander, in the "Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society," vol. ii., p. 35. The following scanty notice must suffice :

The upper half of the skull has been sawn off ; this was for the purpose of embalming. The lower half being then filled with the spicy composition, long since con-

creted, it has come to pass that this portion of the head, including the lower jaw and the pike passing through it all, is cemented into one mass, a state of things which, it has been asserted, could not be predicated of any other known head, since the long exposure of thirty years would in ordinary cases have detached the lower jaw and destroyed the fleshy covering. And whereas the crown of the skull would be pushed off by the upward action of the pike, this difficulty was met by piercing the crown with a central hole, through which the pike then passed, and appeared above the skull. Phrenologically speaking, the head has no large or small organs, all being nearly alike well developed, consequently it is absolutely a large head, the circumference over the occipital bone and round the superciliary region being 22 inches; in life it would have been 23 inches. The spot where the well-known wart over the right eye was placed is indicated by a small cavity in the bone, the excrescence having dropped away. The ragged remains of hair, which is of a reddish chestnut, and which covers the jaw, corresponds with the account of his remaining unshaved during the anxious weeks passed at Lady Claypoole's bedside, and with the remark made by his relations when they saw the post-mortem plaster cast, that his habitual practice had latterly been to preserve a clean chin. The elder Mr. Wilkinson, writing in 1827, says: "This head has been in my possession nearly fifteen years. I have shown it to hundreds of people, and only one gentleman ever brought forward an objection to any part of the evidence. He was an M.P., and a descendant by a collateral branch from Oliver Cromwell. He told me, in contradiction to my remark that chestnut hair never turned gray, that he had a lock of hair at his country house which was cut from the Protector's head on his death-bed, and had been carefully passed down through his family to his own possession, which lock of hair was perfectly gray. He has since expressed his opinion that

the long exposure was sufficient to change the colour." In the *Dublin University Magazine*, April, 1843, it is stated that a lock cut from Charles I.'s head, when washed, was of a bright brown colour, though it is known to have been of a grizzled black in life; the embalming materials probably wrought the same effect in both. The ground on which the sculptor Flaxman pronounced in its favour was the squareness of the lower jaw, a marked speciality in the Cromwell family. Oliver Cromwell, Esq., of Cheshunt, after comparing it with the mask taken after death, expressed himself satisfied; while Dr. Southgate, librarian of the British Museum, and Mr. Kirk, the medallist, reached the same conviction from their knowledge of the Oliverian coins and medals.

Cromwellian Personal Relics.

Of these, as may well be supposed, there is a large crop. In briefly cataloguing them, it will be best to begin with the heirlooms of the Cromwell family preserved in the custody either of the Rev. Paul Bush, Hon. Canon of Truro Cathedral and Rector of Duloe, Cornwall, or the Rev. Thomas Cromwell Bush (eldest son of Canon Paul Bush), of Cheshunt Park, and Rector of Michel Dean, Gloucestershire.

The portraits at Duloe Rectory are (1896) as follows:

1. Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, by Walker. (Mr. Bush possesses the receipt.)
2. Elizabeth Bourchier, wife of the above, by Sir Peter Lely.
3. Richard Cromwell, Protector, by Walker.
4. Henry Cromwell, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, by Christian Dusart.
5. Mary Cromwell, wife of Lord Fauconberg, by Michael Dahl, the Danish painter.
6. Elizabeth Cromwell, wife of John Claypole.

7. Frances Cromwell, Lady Russell, by John Riley.

8. Major Henry Cromwell, son of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, by W. Wissing.

9. Hannah Hewling, wife of the above, by W. Wissing.

10. William Cromwell, of Kirby Street, fourth son of Major Henry Cromwell, by Jonathan Richardson.

11. Richard Cromwell, fifth son of Major Henry Cromwell.

12. Sarah Gatton, wife of the above.

13. Eleanor Gatton (Mrs. Hynde), sister of the above.

14. Thomas Cromwell, seventh son of Major Henry Cromwell, by Jonathan Richardson.

15. John Thurloe, secretary to the Lord Protector, by Dobson.

16. General Stewart, uncle to the Lord Protector.

17. Elizabeth Cromwell, daughter of the Protector Richard.

18. Oliver Cromwell, son of Richard Cromwell, of Hampstead.

19. Oliver Cromwell, of Cheshunt Park, died in 1821.

20. Morgan Morse.

21. Mrs. Morgan Morse.

22. Artemidorus Cromwell Russell, of Cheshunt Park, grandfather of Rev. Thomas Cromwell Bush.

23. Mr. Russell, of Hereford, grandfather of the above.

24. A family group, comprising Richard Cromwell, fifth son of Major Henry Cromwell; Sarah Gatton, his wife, with an infant son in her lap; two daughters, Elizabeth in blue and Anna in red; Mrs. Letitia Thornhill in yellow; Mrs. Eleanor Gracedieu in white; the widow of Mr. Robert Thornhill; Mrs. Hynde making tea—painted by Richard Philips.

The following heirlooms have descended to the Rev.

Thomas Cromwell Bush at Michel Dean Rectory, near Gloucester:

Oliver Cromwell's mask; Henry Cromwell's helmet; Long-Parliament hat, wide-brimmed; spurs; Oliver Cromwell's powder-flask; another helmet; seal of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; Oliver Cromwell's private seal; four pieces of padded armour; pedigree; pair of leather leggings; Oliver Cromwell's stirrups; eight swords, one serpentine; mourning sword belonging to the last Oliver Cromwell, Esq.; dagger; Henry Cromwell's Bible and Prayer-book; piece of the pear-tree planted by Oliver Cromwell in the garden of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; piece of Shakespeare's mulberry-tree; portrait of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, by Holbein; ditto, Henry VIII.; Oliver Cromwell's father and mother; Charles I., in needlework; John Pym; Richard Cromwell; ditto in locket; Lord and Lady Thomond, by S. Cooper; Nicholas Skinner, by the same painter; hatchment carried at the Protector's funeral; small gilt-edged diary; banner; Oliva pacis; small cannon-ball; medicine-chest; large Tuscan cabinet in ebony, of elaborate design, for perfumes, presented by the Grand-Duke of Tuscany to his Highness on the arrival of his portrait in Florence; small picture of Mary, daughter of Nicholas Skinner, widow of Thomas Cromwell, who died in 1813, at the age of 104 (see pp. 61, 62); various Lives of the Protector and miscellaneous papers, in cabinet.

His Highness's coach appears, from an entry in the Commons' Journals, May 28, 1660, to have been transferred to the service and use of Charles II., or such at least was the design, though, from a passage in the first volume of "State Papers," p. 266, it seems to have eventually reached the hands of Lord Hollis. Mark Noble tells us (but this was a hundred years ago) that a large barn built by Oliver at St. Ives still (1785) goes by

his name; and the farmer renting the estate still marks his sheep with the identical marking-irons which Oliver used, having "O. C." upon them. State-coach and marking-irons ought certainly to have been secured by Lord Hollis.

Respecting the articles which descended through Mary Cromwell, Mark Noble has the following: "The present Earl of Fauconberg (1785) possesses some valuables which were the first nobleman's of that title, and presented to him by his Highness, his lordship's father-in-law. Amongst these are a sabre worn by Oliver at Naseby. His head is engraved upon the blade, with this inscription: 'Oliver Cromwell, General for the English Parliament, 1652'; above it, 'Soli Deo gloria'; below it, 'Fide, sed cui vide.' On the other side of the blade is the same head and inscription, and a man on horseback, with the words 'Spes mea est Deo,' and 'Vincere aut mori.'" A similar weapon is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1793, p. 209, belonging to some other party. This may suffice for the O. C. swords, which might fill an armoury.

But the Fauconberg collection long included an object of still greater interest, which has now passed into the possession of the Earl of Chichester. This was Oliver's pocket Bible, an edition printed for the assignees of Robert Barker in 1645, bound in four thin volumes for portability, and having Cromwell's autograph at the beginning of vol. iii., thus, "O. C. el. 1645," and the words "Qui cessat esse melior cessat esse bonus." Each volume also contains "Lord Fauconberg his Book, 1677." Lastly must be mentioned Lady Mary's knife, fork, and spoon in a shagreen case, which she derived from her father, and which she bequeathed to Miss Plaxton, from whom they passed to her descendant, Mr. Thomas Beckwith, of York, painter and F.A.S.

Mr. H. R. Field, formerly of Munster Lodge, Tedding-

ton, possesses the portrait of Elizabeth Bourchier, the Protector's mother, by some Dutch master, a marble bust of the Protector, several original letters, various articles belonging to his medicine-chest, one of the brass breast ornaments worn on the belt of his troopers, Gillray's caricature representation of George III. inspecting a miniature of Cromwell, and a collection of drawings formerly at Brantingsay.

At the thirty days' sale, in 1806, of Sir Ashton Lever's museum, Oliver's helmet and gorget, and a buff doublet, were bought for five guineas. They were presented by a descendant of General Disbrowe to Mr. Busby, who gave them to Sir Ashton. A three-quarter bust in armour cut in white paper, and regarded as the work of his daughter, Mrs. Bridget Fleetwood, is now in the United Service Institution; where also are divers other Cromwelliana. A clock, now in the Philadelphia Library, and regarded as the oldest clock in America, is called Oliver Cromwell's clock. His watch, delineated in a print in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1808, is now in the British Museum. His oval brass snuff-box was minutely described in *Notes and Queries*, October 29, 1864. At an archæological meeting in York, September, 1846, another watch turned up, a repeater, maker's name Jaques Cartier, exhibited by Mr. F. H. Fawkes, of Farnley Hall, near Otley, together with the original matrix in silver of a seal for the approbation of parish ministers. Mark Noble believed himself to be the happy possessor of the Protector's steel tobacco-box. His boots, with many other articles, used to be shown to visitors at the Chequers, in Buckinghamshire; while a rival pair of boots formed part of Mr. Mayer's Museum at Liverpool, together with a cocoanut cup mounted in silver; and there is a silver shoe-buckle in the rooms of the Edinburgh Antiquaries. Mrs. Inigo Thomas, of Ratten, had his brooch. Even his finger-ring was found in 1824 at

Enderby, near Leicester, having a pointedly-cut diamond between rubies, and "O. C." on each side of the rubies. Inside the ring were the words "For the Cause" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1824). Thomas Dickenson Hall, Esq., of Whatton Manor, co. Notts, has his silver drinking-cup, with a cover. The numerous articles inherited by the Dickenson family were likely to be genuine, as they came through the Claypooles. An aunt of Daines Barrington formerly rejoiced in the possession of an intricate lock, manufactured in Scotland, but attached to a chamber-door in Whitehall. Other possessors of relics are, or were, Mr. Goodall, of Dinton Hall, Aylesbury; Sir Peter Dick, of Sloane Street, Chelsea; and the owner of the armoury in the chapel of Farley Castle, the ancient seat of the Hungerfords, in Wiltshire. The above list, copious though it may appear, is far from being exhaustive, and a small space must still be claimed for objects more strictly belonging to the Protectress's department. It remains, then, to state that at a sale of porcelain belonging to Miss Wroughton, of Wilcot, near Devizes, one lot was styled Oliver's, probably a set of Delft earthenware, which was popular in England from 1600 to 1660. And when about the same time the antique furniture of Chavenage House, near Tetbury, was sold by auction, amongst various Oliverian relics, his quilt in satin, trimmed with silk fringe, was sold for £3. A similar quilt of Ireton's fetched one guinea. Nor must an article belonging to Ireton's wife, Bridget Cromwell, be overlooked. This is a brass-mounted pair of bellows adorned with scroll-work and flowers encircling a portrait of her father, exhibited by Mr. Burkitt at the archæological meeting in 1845. Lastly, a kettle—a camp-kettle, a gift from Mrs. Russel, of Cheshunt—was cherished by the late Sir Charles Reed, of Hackney, derived through his wife from her father, Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., of Leeds.

There was a gentleman resident in the Paragon at Hackney, Mr. De Kewer Williams, the pastor of an Independent Church, whose Cromwellian museum, in one respect at least, was emphatically unique, for it included 233 different engraved portraits of him, 180 being English, 39 French, 7 Dutch, 6 German, 1 Italian; and by this time the collection is doubtless still further enriched. Other items in this gathering were portraits in oil (one apparently an original); miniatures on various grounds and bas-relievos of every material; a statuette of considerable age, possibly contemporary; besides coins, medals, seals, silver lockets, a large ivory tankard, the carving around which represents the Dissolution of the Long Parliament; all the best engravings of Oliver, inclusive of caricatures native and foreign; and lastly a book-case of characteristic device, containing a selection of rare works illustrative of his career, in various languages.

In the execution of his picture of the Dissolution of the Long Parliament, Benjamin West was anxious to examine a miniature of great repute, then belonging to an old lady, a member of the Russell family. "Lord Russell" is described as the mediating channel through whom permission to inspect was, after much difficulty, obtained. But permission was only one step in advance. Sundry preliminaries had to be observed, for which the painter was hardly prepared. The box containing the miniature lay at the lady's banking-house, and whenever it was brought to her own home, the servants were all put into livery as for a State reception, and visitors were required to appear in Court dress. Benjamin West's Quaker prejudices revolted against the sword and other paraphernalia belonging to that costume; but deeming it best to waive his objections for the nonce, he was duly ushered along with others into the lady's bedroom, where she appeared propped up with pillows and dressed with plumes and jewels. The box was opened, and Mr. West had at

last the satisfaction of holding the Protector's miniature in his hand. A glance sufficed to verify the report of its excellence. He had never before seen, he said, so expressive a likeness of "Cromwell." At the word "Cromwell" the old lady's eager hand had plucked the jewel from his profane grasp and replaced it in its casket. With an agitated voice she declared that Mr. West could not again be permitted to handle it. "You must know," she added, "that in my presence he is never spoken of but as my Lord Protector." Lord Russell here interposed, and after suitable apologies and explanations obtained for Mr. West the privilege of another long inspection, in the course of which the courtly painter found sundry opportunities for magnifying the name and virtues of our Lord Protector. After the lady's death, he made another effort to see it through her executors, but all the information he could get was that when the box was recovered from the banker's the picture was absent, and was supposed to have gone abroad. Thus it seemed hopelessly lost, but Mr. West was of opinion that the beauty of its execution would ensure its restoration to the light. (*Notes and Queries*, July 15, 1865.) Possibly its subsequent history may be read in a statement occurring in a letter to the present writer, written in 1848 by the late Sir Thomas Frankland Lewis, to the effect that the best portrait of Oliver he had ever seen was "a miniature in the hands of Sir Augustus Foster, who had purchased it at Turin. It was by Cooper, and had belonged to some of Oliver's descendant's." As to the lady herself, who paid such affectionate homage to his memory, she may be conjecturally identified with one of the two members of the Russell family who successively filled the office of bed-chamber woman to the Princess Amelia.

The portrait (life-size) in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, was probably the last taken from life, for it represents him worn and faded from the fatigues of office

and indoor life. It was presented to the college, in 1766, by Thomas Hollis, the antiquary, who accompanied the gift with two unsigned letters as follows:

"*To the Master and Fellows of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.*

"An Englishman, an assertor of liberty, citizen of the world, is desirous of having the honour to present an original portrait in crayons of the head of O. Cromwell, Protector, drawn by Cooper, to Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge. London, Jan. 15, 1766.

'I freely declare it, I am for old Noll;
Though his government did a tyrant's resemble,
He made England great, and her enemies tremble.'

"It is requested that the portrait should be placed so as to receive the light from left to right, and be free from sunshine. Also that the favour of a line may be written on the arrival of it, directed to Pierce Delver, at Mr. Shore's, bookbinder in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, London."

Second letter:

"A small case was sent yesterday by the Cambridge waggon from the Green Dragon, Bishopsgate Street, directed to Dr. Elliston, Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, free of carriage. It contains a portrait which the Master and Fellows of that College are requested to accept. London, Jan. 18, 1766."

How and when the donor's real name was discovered is uncertain, but the letters were so characteristic that it could not long remain a secret. Thomas Hollis died in 1774, but we learn from his memoirs that it was known in 1780. (*Notes and Queries*, February 24, 1872.)

The Standard of Oliver Cromwell.

Mr. Henfrey observes, writing in 1875, that there seems to be only one example of a Commonwealth flag now in existence in this country. It was the standard hoisted during that period on the flagstaff at Chatham Dockyard, and it is still preserved at the private house of the Captain-Superintendent of the dockyard, Captain Charles Fellowes, C.B. It is there deposited in a curious chest of carved cypress, taken by Sir George Rook out of a Spanish galleon in Vigo Bay in 1704, and which was used for holding colours. The following notice of it occurs in the *Kentish Gazette,* January 11, 1822:

"*Cromwell's Standard.*—When his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester visited the dockyard at Chatham a few days since, he was shown Cromwell's standard, supposed to be the only one remaining in the kingdom. Its ancient simplicity and good preservation excited the attention of his Royal Highness. When his late Majesty visited the yard in 1781, it was shown to him, and he expressed a desire that particular care might be taken of it. The flag is red, twenty-one feet by fifteen, having on it St. George's Cross, red on a white field, and the Irish harp, yellow on a blue field, the shield surrounded by branches of palm and laurel."

Respecting which memorandum, Mr. Henfrey further observes that the writer errs in calling it Cromwell's standard, since it carries the arms of the Commonwealth of England and Ireland only, which differ considerably from the bearings of the Protectorate. On May 18, 1658, an order of Oliver's Council directed "That the standard for the General of his Highness's fleet be altered, and do bear the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with his Highness's escutcheon of pretence according to the impression of the great seal of England, and that the jack-flags for the flag-officers of the fleet and for the

general ships of war of his Highness be the arms of England and Scotland united, according to the ancient form, with the addition of the harp, according to the model now shown, and that the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy do take order that the standard and jack-flags be prepared accordingly." The standard thus determined on bore quarterly, first and fourth, *argent*, the cross of St. George, *gules*, for England; second, *azure*, a saltire, *argent*, being St. Andrew's cross for Scotland; third, *azure*, a harp, *or*, stringed, *argent*, for Ireland. On an escutcheon of pretence in the centre were the paternal arms of Cromwell, *sable*, a lion rampant, *argent*.

The National Ensign was in all probability down to 1658 the flag of St. George introduced by the Commonwealth in 1649; but by the order above quoted we learn that the old Union Jack, bearing the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, was revived, with the singular alteration of placing the Irish harp "over the centre" (as Mr. Henfrey supposes) of the flag. This altered Union Jack was, of course, disused upon the restoration of Charles II., nor was Ireland again represented in the Union flag until the reign of George III., when the cross of St. Patrick was added to the jack on the union with Ireland, January 1, 1801. During the short period between the resignation of the Protector Richard and the return of the King, the standard was probably that of the Protectorate with the Cromwell escutcheon omitted. The ensign was perhaps the Union Jack as altered in 1658. (From a paper by H. W. Henfrey on the "Commonwealth Flags.") In the matter of colours, costumes, and badges worn by the several companies of the fighting armies in the early stages of the war, much information is supplied in the life of Admiral Deane by his descendant, John Bathurst Deane.

The Coins of Oliver Cromwell.

"Numismata Cromwelliana; or, The Medallic History of Oliver Cromwell, illustrated by his Coins, Medals, and Seals, dedicated by permission to the Marquis of Ripon, 'the eminent statesman, the patron of archæology and art, and a descendant of the Cromwell family,'" by William Henry Henfrey, author of "A Guide to English Coins," member of the Numismatic and other learned societies (4to., 1877), is a fascinating and exhaustive treatise on a department of our history concerning which, notwithstanding the extant account of Simon's works, little before was known. With a copious history of minting operations during the period in question, it supplies also the biographies of the artists engaged, and is rich not only in scientific data, but in contemporary anecdote. The pictorial delineations, which are of extraordinary beauty, being the product of the Autotype Company, include all the English specimens, and also foreign imitations and Dutch satirical pieces. In presence of so finished a work of art, it would be an impertinence to treat its details in a cursory style. Beyond, therefore, a notice of the Dunbar medal, but little attempt will be made to rifle its contents.

Oliver's numismatic history commences with the victory of Dunbar, September 3, 1650. Two days after the news of that event reached the House, a resolution was passed for a general distribution of memorial pieces to the army, and constitutes the first instance in English history of the same medal being granted to officers and men alike, as is our present practice. Nor was it ever done again till the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, when a distribution of silver medals was in like manner made to every man present at the action. Relics of this kind in commemoration of great men and great events have, of course, been common time out of mind; but in the whole space of our own

history preceding the battle of Waterloo, the Commonwealth of England stands alone in the gift of this form of decoration to every man of every grade in the army.

It was proposed that the Dunbar medal should exhibit on the one side a view of the Parliament sitting, and on the other an effigy of the victorious General, backed by a distant view of the army, and superscribed "THE LORD OF HOSTS," which had been the battle-cry on the occasion; and Thomas Simon, the renowned medallist, was sent down to Scotland to convey to him the wishes of the House, and to make the necessary studies for the bust. Oliver expressed his cordial approval of the design, except that he wished his own portrait to be left out; but as this would not be listened to, Simon went back to London furnished with those materials, which have issued in that representation of the General in middle life, which we instinctively feel to be the true one, well executed in the Dunbar medals, but still better expressed in the Inauguration medal. Both are represented in Plate I. of the autotypes in Mr. Henfrey's work.

In executing the reverse for the smaller of the Dunbar medals, namely, the view of the Parliament sitting, Simon used up a die which he had formerly engraved for the Meruisti medal. This was a medal which had been ordered in 1649 to decorate several sea-captains who had done good service to the Commonwealth; and it had on the obverse the Commonwealth arms in the form of the English and Irish shields suspended from an anchor, and the word MERUISTI. These, with their gold chains, were ready for delivery in 1653, and Cromwell having in the meanwhile become Protector, he had the pleasure of personally presenting them to Generals Blake and Monk, to Vice-Admiral Penn, Rear-Admiral Lawson, and others.

Of the Cromwellian coinage generally, Mr. Henfrey, after reciting the eulogies of various numismatic authorities, concludes with those of B. Nightingale and R. Stuart

Poole, the latter being the Keeper of the Coins in the British Museum. Says Mr. Nightingale: "They have always been considered the most truthful, graceful, and highly-finished specimens of modern medallic art. Indeed, they have never been surpassed by any productions of the English Mint. Perhaps we might say they have never been equalled." Mr. Poole says: "The great Protector's coins, designed by Simon, the chief of English medallists, are unequalled in our whole series for the vigour of the portrait, a worthy presentment of the head of Cromwell, and the beauty and fitness of every portion of the work."

But, beautiful as the Protector's money was, it had but a very limited circulation. As he died within a few months after the great coinage of 1658, the specimens then afloat would very naturally be hoarded as memorials of him and as curiosities. Samuel Pepys tells us that even so early as 1662 Cromwell's pieces were prized and bought up by connoisseurs. From the circumstance that no specific mention is made of them in Charles II.'s proclamation calling in the Commonwealth money, it has even been argued that they were never in public circulation. This Mr. Henfrey does not admit, and thinks, with Sir Henry Ellis, that it must have been deemed quite unnecessary to prohibit in a proclamation the currency of coins which had virtually gone out of sight.

Oliver's seal on the death-warrant of the King differs from that which he commonly used, inasmuch as the demi-lion holds a fleur-de-lys instead of a javelin or ring. The same seal follows Harrison's name. Perhaps he was without a seal at the time, and Cromwell, standing by, lent him his. The published facsimiles of the warrant do not correctly represent this seal.

Church Policy of Oliver Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell was a man of prayer. To his honest apprehension the hand of Providence was throughout his career as distinct and palpable as the sun in the heavens. To retain the benefit of this sure defence, it followed that the only possible course open to him was that of childlike obedience. Along this path he moved with the serene confidence only known to the sons of faith, and the power of his genius was born of the innocency of his heart. Personal supremacy was valuable only as it furnished the means for carrying out those maxims of religious liberty, civil order, and Protestant ascendancy in Europe, which he often told his brother sovereigns abroad were the terms of his Divine commission. In Rome he discerned the chief enemy to the liberties, the prosperity, and the piety of mankind, and in nations devoted to her sway the strongholds of tyranny and vice. In face of such a state of things, he was not called upon when smitten on the one cheek to offer the other also. That might be a personal duty. Possibly it might not be a national duty. Nationality was an element not of his creation, but it was a factor which went for a great deal in the history of human progress, and he found himself, by the will of Heaven, in possession of a national sword. Without adopting the fiction of a Christian nation, he had to ask himself the question why that sword was placed in his hand as a Protestant potentate in the then state of Europe. His answer to that question was, as we know, a systematic plan of resistance to Papal influences abroad. By parity of reasoning it appeared to him just and right to exercise the same law of force at home; and he exercised it so far as to meet and ratify the universal craving for an outward and visible profession of Christianity, but combining therewith absolute toleration for all doctrines that were not opposed to the nation's peace.

To him, as to Milton, the attainment of those ends was a more important object than the symmetry of the machinery. The respective views of the two men in matters ecclesiastic may or may not have corresponded in some executive details, but Milton had the good sense not to stand against the Protector's decision under the circumstances of the hour. Milton was born to be a theologian; Cromwell was born to be a Ruler. Milton's views of Church organization were manly, Apostolic, and evangelical; and when looked at from the private Christian's standpoint, they were all-sufficient. But Cromwell had to look at the matter from the Ruler's standpoint, and this was a very different affair. He had to sweep a politico-ecclesiastic horizon which was charged with thunder-clouds, an horizon of far wider reach than that of Milton's model Church, which only asked to be guided back into Apostolic order.

The period between the battle of Worcester and the dissolution of the Long Parliament was greatly occupied by national discussions on what was called "the propagation of the Gospel"—a term embracing the whole question of the alliance of Church and State, the selection of pastors, and the maintenance of the old system of tithes *versus* a declaration of absolute voluntaryism. Committees were sitting, books printed, petitions presented, proposals entertained, in all which Cromwell was a patient worker and watcher; and we must therefore conclude that, when he reached the conviction that England was not yet ready for the experimental adoption of Milton's theories, he had weighed the matter with all the powers he possessed.

Now, it has often been stated that his resolution to maintain the parochial clergy by force and arms was the one point in which he thoroughly disappointed John Milton and his brother voluntaries. It may be so. Perhaps he much more disappointed himself. But before surveying the difficulties of his position, let us clear the ground by first disposing of Richard Baxter's objections. It was the

recorded opinion of this divine that Cromwell systematically prepared the public mind for his own personal exaltation by first stimulating the religious extravagances of the hour, in order that himself might be welcomed as the patron and restorer of order; and that, having attained his end, he trusted thenceforward to the policy of doing good for his continued security, "that the people might love him, or at least be willing to have his government for that good." So, then, we are to understand it was all in furtherance of his own interest. Any solution will satisfy Baxter rather than admit that the Protector adopted the course which he deemed most righteous for righteousness' sake. But to those of us who believe that Cromwell possessed what the Scriptures term "a single eye," the crooked policy here attributed to him is altogether inadmissible. To a dignitary like Baxter, who caused Quakers to be put in the stocks at Kidderminster, and to other ministers who shared his sentiments of clerical domination, the Protector's decision, one would think, might have been sufficiently palatable, let the motive be what it might. It was the amount of toleration which went along with it which the Presbyterian champion so resented. No man loved better than he did the order and power implied in the phrase "Church and State," and liberty of conscience consequently took, in his estimation, the place of rank heresy—liberty of the lay conscience, that is to say; for ministers were the only true guides of opinion. "If," says he, referring to the early stages of the struggle, "there had been a competent number of ministers, each doing his part, the whole plot of the furious party might have been broken, and King, Parliament, and religion preserved." By the "furious party" here are meant the Anabaptist soldiers, who in the days of his army chaplaincy had so often outraged his official dignity by controverting his dogmas of Church polity.

But leaving Baxter to learn in the after-school of tribu-

lation the lesson of mutual forbearance, we may now look at some other of Oliver's difficulties, and in so doing take a glance at the actual state of English churches. They comprehended, then, to begin with, the entire population. Everyone who had been made a Christian by baptism could claim a legal right to church privileges, by which fiction it came to pass that church discipline was, as it always must be under the circumstances, a farce. When Peter Ince, one of the conscientious pastors of South Wilts, ventured to restrict communion by instituting a character test, all the parish rose in arms. The church was theirs, not his. Still more dire must have been the confusion and clash of tongues when the incumbent happened, as was sometimes the case, to be a Baptist. Such was the nature of parochial church life which Cromwell had to deal with—a system wrought for ages past into the very fabric of society, one which he had no hand in initiating, and which he certainly had no power to arrest.

Church discipline, then, must for the present be regarded as unattainable, even if it had ever been possible to bring it within the reach of an ecclesiastical police; and congregations must be treated, not as Christians, but as citizens. Cromwell knew as well as anyone that Churches of the primitive age had their organization in their own hands, but he also knew that as soon as they learned to look to earthly authority in support or recognition of their spiritual status, from that moment they became merged in surrounding influences. Their spiritual status was quenched in their citizenship, and forthwith became, if not a myth, at least an undefinable quantity outside of the legislator's notice. Milton, with the daring of youth, had once said: "A commonwealth ought to be but as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man." The aspiration was poetic—it was even prophetic and Biblical—but as yet it was far enough out of sight in

England; and when he and Cromwell found at last an opportunity of giving to their endeavours a practical shape, the reform had to drop down to the regulation of parish churches; and how to exalt and purify even these by legislative action it was felt could only be a very superficial affair.

But in addition to them, the legislator had also to recognise the existence of other gatherings of Christian men. From the days of Constantine downwards, Catholic unity had forcibly preserved the peace in this respect; but Protestantism is the nurse of sects, and as England and Scotland were Protestant, so the sects abounded. They could not be obliterated. Nay, putting aside the bitterness of rivalry kept alive in them by the action of paid teachers, they are a healthy symptom of life. In any case, then, let them enjoy a common share of that protection which is their undoubted right as citizens, though not as spiritual persons. Even Milton could not withhold this amount of governmental support.

By this principle, therefore, Cromwell appears to have guided his course. The various religious parties were given to understand that they had perfect liberty to think and let think. He attempted neither to define nor to defend the theological position of any one of the belligerents, but he was resolved, if possible, to keep them one and all from cutting each others' throats. How this amicable neutrality could be secured, when the beneficed clergy retained the power of summoning the civil sword in defence of their tithes, could never have been very clear. Apparently, there was at present no mode of escape out of the dilemma; but so far as the circumstances of the case permitted, he became what has been termed "a despot for freedom of conscience," paradoxical as it may sound. Could a succession of Cromwells be counted on, the system of compromise thus put into action might possibly retain some healthy efficiency, and the religious freedom,

which he secured in spite of the parochial clergy, be indefinitely perpetuated. Still, it was but a compromise, a temporary expedient adopted in hope of something better turning up; and, so far as his own conscience was concerned in the matter, it is satisfactory to know from his repeated declarations that he believed he had pursued the right course.

Was there any other prominent object to be considered? Yes, there was the selection and payment of ministers. Here, also, if legislation would but consent to sit still and ignore the existence of Christianism, Milton's conclusions were irresistible. And as England then was, another conclusion also was irresistible—every parish would become in succession the seat of civil war. Those who are familiar with the schedules of estates called "particulars," which the Royalists had to furnish when they compounded for their "delinquency," will have observed how frequently the rural rectories were in the hands of laymen, who, while they kept the tithes to themselves, and maintained the fabric of the church in repair or disrepair, as the case might be, met the ecclesiastical wants of the people by paying a small stipend of from £40 to £70 to some curate or vicarius, who was very much at their mercy. And as were the Royalist landowners, so were all other landowners. Now, let it be conceived for a moment what would have been the result of tearing up such a system as this in countless parishes, where there could be no possible agreement in doctrinal matters, and consequently no concord in the choice of a pastor—at a time, too, when the Quakers were perambulating every village in the realm and sowing broadcast the seeds of ecclesiastical revolt. Was it not better to allow the right of presentation to remain for the present with the landowners or other patrons, and qualify the evil by subjecting the nominees to the strait gate of examination? So Oliver appears to have reasoned.

And this brings us at last in sight of the county courts of arbitrators, called "tryers" or "expurgators," and by the episcopal party *basanistai*, or "tormentors," selected from professors of different Protestant creeds, lay and clerical, and appointed to pronounce on the fitness or otherwise of candidates for benefices. They were not altogether a new institution, Acts for the ejectment of scandalous and insufficient divines having been on the statute-books ever since the time of James I. (see the Commons' Journals as far back as June 22, 1604), but under the Commonwealth the system was brought into more rigorous practice. This is what Professor David Masson, in his "Life of John Milton," so repeatedly terms "Cromwell's State Church," but which, after all, means no more than this: that he met the helpless cry for a paid pastorate by furnishing the best article within his reach; and in furtherance of this object it must be admitted that his supervision was anxious and incessant. In Marchmont Needham's book, published in 1657, entitled "The Great Accuser Cast Down," we are told that "His Highness, having near one half of the livings in England one way or other in his own immediate disposal by presentation, he seldom bestoweth one of them upon any man whom himself doth not first examine and make trial of in person. Save only that at such times as his great affairs happen to be more urgent than ordinary, he useth to appoint some other to do it in his behalf. Which is so rare an example of piety, that the like is not to be found in the stories of princes."

And then, touching the sources of income, how to find a substitute for tithes was felt to be a bottomless question. There was some talk of experimenting in Ireland, and gathering tithes into a common fund for re-distribution among incumbents, but it came to nothing. Oliver evidently shrank most sensitively from the injustice of any plan which looked like pauperizing the regular clergy.

On this ground he fought their battle from first to last. He told the House that the best among the clergy would heartily welcome some more gracious scheme of support, if such could be found; but until that happy discovery were made, tithes were unavoidable. To fall back on universal voluntaryism, he thought, would be unfair treatment towards the ministers.

But let Cromwell's solicitude as the father of his people be what it might, was not the above plan tainted with the old inherent vice of withholding from the churches the right to choose their own pastors? It certainly was the withholding of that right from the parishioners in the mass, whether they were Christians or not. And if we wish to know how the exercise of such right would be likely to work, we have only to look at those parishes where the popular election of their rectors or ministers still prevails in England. Though blood may not be actually spilt, as was the case in some of the earlier battles between bishops, the spectacle is equally unedifying. What, then, it will be asked, is legislation to do in such a case? After an experience prolonged for two centuries since Oliver fell asleep, we might be tempted to utter a summary sentence very much at variance with his plan of action. But in judging of that plan so far as he was implicated, we have to remember that, in the Reformation era, through which his own youth had passed, the Protestant conscience was absolutely saturated with the Divine mission of a stationary preaching clergy. Ever since the hour of his conversion he had been prominent in their advocacy, and to give them a fair chance now that he had the power was clearly with him a point of conscience. The most advanced Christian thinkers of that day were as yet very far from taking the ground which John Foster (the essayist) occupied a hundred and fifty years later when he started the suggestion that all ecclesiastical organizations were useless and mischievous,

and the sooner they were dissolved the better. Pure Protestantism, or the Biblical principle of light against darkness, had never before found herself in the seat of authority—at least, in England. The metaphor which represents the champion of Puritanism with a sword in one hand and a Bible in the other is a perfectly just one; for though Puritanism was something more reformed than the Anglican Reformation, it was that something still pronouncing itself by the aid of Governmental force. The main difference lay here: that, in place of subsidizing a Church of priests, the monopoly was transferred to a Church of pastors. These had now to be put upon trial, and in spite of the check delivered by the re-ascent of the Anglican Church to the supreme power, the experimental preaching dynasty of the sixteenth century has gone on ever since. Should it have to resign its functions to something better, it will not, in the meanwhile, have lived in vain.

Here the defence of Oliver's Church policy must come to an end. If we say that, in presence of the moral upturnings through which the nation had passed, he saw no other method whereby to ride the angry storm, let it be accepted as an admission that he was able to read his position better than we can read it for him, though it leave untouched the counter-axiom that no civil power has ever yet shown itself sufficiently pure to become the earthly representative of the kingdom of righteousness. How far he was himself aware of the false position held by subsidized divines may be partly gathered from his own explicit disavowal of their exclusive charter, and this in fairness ought to be now added: "Where do you find in Scripture," he had said to the Scots ministers, "a ground to warrant such an assertion that preaching is exclusively your function? Though an approbation from men hath order in it, and may do well, yet he that hath no better warrant than that hath none at all. I hope He

that ascended up on high may give His gifts to whom He pleaseth; and if these gifts be the seal of mission, be not you envious though Eldad and Medad prophesy." To the Irish prelates and priests he had further said:

"I wonder not at discontents and divisions where so antichristian and dividing a term as clergy and laity is given and received—a term unknown to any save the antichristian Church and such as derive themselves from her. 'Ab initio non fuit sic. . . .' It was your pride that begat this expression, and it is for filthy lucre's sake that you keep it up, that by making the people believe that they are not so holy as yourselves they might for their penny purchase some sanctity from you, and that you might bridle, saddle, and ride them at your pleasure, and do (as is most true of you) as the Scribes and Pharisees of old did by their laity—keep the knowledge of the law from them, and then be able in their pride to say: 'This people that knoweth not the law are cursed.'"

These revelations of his personal convictions give us some insight into the conflicting elements through which he had to steer his course. It was impossible, for example, that he could be deaf to the woes and wailings of the Quakers, flogged, imprisoned, and robbed by tithe-gatherers. We know, in fact, that a very fair list could be exhibited, were there time, of kindnesses and deliverances wrought not only by himself, but by members of his household, in behalf of the sufferers. Some (not all) of the Quaker annalists have been very unjust towards him in this matter, attributing to him personally what was due to the tyranny which, in that age of local government, magistrates at a distance from London were able to exercise with impunity. Where he could not legally interfere was in those violations of established order in which some of the more audacious Quakers indulged. It matters little. The Quakers, meanwhile, were quite right in attributing to his governmental sanction the ugly

machinery of a dominant clergy, under which they suffered most cruelly. He became—we can hardly doubt it—more fully sensible of the reigning evil when failing health and foreign complications left him no further time for organic reforms.

The effect on the ministers themselves was still more morally disastrous. They supported the Protector's authority so long as it lasted, and then, as one man, fell prostrate at the feet of returning Royalism, having done their utmost to bring it about in pure dread of the encroachments of Quakerism. And their official representatives and successors to the present hour revile the Protector and all his works.

The crucial test of the Act of Uniformity proved the personal worth of many of them as men and as Christians, and so far forth reflected credit on the system which placed them in office; and if that crucial test did not at once bring the expelled Two Thousand round to the platform of John Milton and the Quakers, it at least gave positivism to those principles which, by a slower routine, will eventually show that platform to be the only honest and victorious one. Strange was the destiny of the Puritan poet. Led, like his illustrious friend, the Puritan captain, away from the path which he had originally chosen into other scenes and controversies which were necessary for his mental education, he proved in his own case the wisdom of that friend's axiom—how feeble is human forecast when compared with the faith which asks where the next footstep shall be planted! If the Civil War had brought forth no other fruit than John Milton's controversial writings, the crop might well challenge the benediction of all succeeding ages. His polemics were as far in advance of the pulpit of his day, or of our own, either, as the intelligent patriotism of the Protector went ahead of the crotchets of his Parliaments. Not a few of his compatriots of the present generation have this con-

viction profoundly seated in their hearts, and their own forced and temporary inaction is rendered just supportable by the thought that the words of the master ready stand, waiting like Samson's foxes, so soon as the Philistines' harvest shall be fully ripe, to run in and set the field on fire.

For two hundred years the exaltation of John Milton's poetry has been made by his pseudo-admirers the means of smothering his authority as a divine. In an epic or lyric form he may be tolerated in the most fastidious drawing-room—pictorially edited or plain—illuminated or obscured, as the case may be, by distracting quotations from heathen writers or the microscopic revelations of commentators. There is only one proviso to be observed —his orthodox writings must never be bound up with his apocrypha.

But this apocryphal divinity of John Milton will yet be the death of idolatry. Absorbing all that was crystalline in George Fox, all that was practicable in Puritanism, and all that was gallant in good citizenship, he sets forth Christianity as hostile indeed to lawless tyranny, but in no sense uncongenial with national self-assertion—rather, indeed, as the sole guarantee of a people's advance. Priestcraft by a law of necessity withers beneath his touch, and God's true heroes stand out in celestial relief. The sacerdotalists to a man instinctively recoil from his pages, but they will never be permitted to forget that the anatomist who has gibbeted their cause, and their martyrs, too, in perennial infamy, was the sublimest of poets and the ripest of scholars, the most logical controversialist and the most finished Latinist—a man of child-like faith, serenest valour, and harmonious soul. Vain is it for one traducer after another to tell us how he was ignominiously "vomited forth of the University," or to picture him as destitute of natural affection. His position in the heavens is fixed and eternal. His imperial friend and himself

stand out as the Castor and Pollux of a storm-ridden sky, nor has their lustre yet reached its culmination. Oliver once threatened that the guns of England should be heard under the walls of the Vatican. The guns of England in those days, simple Puritan guns though they were, were sufficiently eloquent to awake in the sacerdotal breast the desire, as John Dryden expresses it, "Behind more Alps to stand, although an Alexander were her guard."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CROMWELLS OF AMERICA.

MEMBERS of the Cromwell stock, though they are still numerous in North America, have to a great extent died out of the old country. This remark is made, not in reference to the Protectoral branch only, but to various offshoots parting company with the central stem of the Midland Counties before Oliver became conspicuous, and now only dimly traceable through early parish registers, testamentary documents, and ecclesiastical presentations. And some of these evidences, it may be observed, crop up in very unsuspected quarters. For instance, there are several such existing in the registers of rural parishes round Devizes in Wiltshire, as well as in the neighbouring county of Somerset, and in the city of Bath, as already mentioned. Moreover, the title has disappeared from the peerage. But Cromwell, as a patronymic, is not the only illustrious name which has been gradually suffering eclipse; and we must rest contented with the assurance that its memory at least will never die. Not a few cases of disappearance arose from the action of sundry cautious or prejudiced individuals, in the era of reaction, discarding the name of Cromwell and reassuming the family *alias* of

Williams; but still more from the practice, which early set in, of emigration to New England and Maryland. In that country there would be little temptation in after-times to put the name under a bushel. The tendency would be rather the other way; and the result has been, as stated above, that Cromwells are now found scattered over the Eastern States; they have even penetrated California. Mark Noble quotes the "History of Massachusetts Bay" as authority for the existence of a valiant and wealthy buccaneer, known in the Western seas as Captain Cromwell, who died at Boston as far back as "about 1646." We are not to suppose that the old sea-rover went thither in pursuit of religious freedom; but in less than a dozen years after his death we have abundant evidence in the Land Agency Office of Annapolis of the presence of more permanent and law-abiding settlers bearing the same name—of whom more anon. At a still earlier period than the above—namely, in James I.'s time—Henry Cromwell of Upwood, third son of Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbroke, had interested himself in the settlement of Virginia, and was one of the "adventurers" who advanced money to cultivate that province. The fictitious story of Oliver Cromwell's being frustrated by royal mandate, when attempting to embark for America, no doubt obtained popular currency from the known fact that so many of his name from time to time pursued the like course. The principal point of attraction seems to have been Maryland rather than New England, for the following reason. As the Lords Baltimore had in succession procured for their territory in Maryland charters favourable to religious freedom, in the interests of those who, like themselves, held the Romish faith, sober Protestants shared in the privilege; so that it came to pass that members of the Church of England, who were excluded by rigid Puritanism from Massachusetts, and Puritans, on the other hand, who found Virginia too hot for them, alike found refuge in this

intermediate province. Other inducements to colonize the Baltimore territory were made from time to time. It was understood that fifty acres, more or less, were free to all comers, and that everyone might claim it, whether rich or poor. Here is an early entry from the Annapolis records: In 1653 "Geessam [Gershom ?] Cromwell demands land for his own transportation and for the transportation of his wife and daughter" (liber iv., folio 49). Annapolis is the county town of Anne-Arundel, and capital of the State of Maryland; from the city of Baltimore it is distant about eighteen miles.

The question that Americans, then, naturally ask is: "Whence did these early Cromwellians spring? Do we or do we not possess amongst us the direct descendants of the Protector? Our own personal tastes—the tastes, that is to say, of some of us—together with various family traditions, seem to point to an affirmative issue; though, after the lapse of two centuries, the documentary evidence has confessedly become obscure and intricate."

In answering this question, it will be well to commence by removing certain misconceptions; and first, in respect of cognate descent from the Protector through the Claypoole connection. Although it is an indisputable fact that the children of Elizabeth Claypoole, Cromwell's second daughter, died without issue, the belief, nevertheless, long prevailed in the States, owing to the number and prominence of Claypooles there resident, that the link was well authenticated. The owners of the name, it is presumed, are by this time pretty well disabused of the conception; but it may be interesting to make a short digression in their favour, before treating of the Cromwells proper. First, as furnishing a creditable set-off against the moral shadow cast by Mark Noble on the memory of John Claypoole, the Protector's son-in-law; and secondly, as associating the name with the triumphant march of American Independence.

James Claypoole, the brother of John, quitted the old country for New England when somewhat advanced in years; but previous to that event his eldest son John, having become intimate with William Penn, had accompanied the philanthropist to Philadelphia in 1682, in the capacity of surgeon. In 1689 he was holding the more prominent office of Sheriff of Philadelphia. In Penn's Diary are preserved one or more letters confirmatory of this friendship. John's grandson William was the husband of Elizabeth Griscom, who, as "Betsey Claypoole," long carried on the upholstery business in Philadelphia, and was the maker of the first American standard flag. In this first standard she arranged the thirteen stars in a circle, and the form of her star, with its five points, is still retained throughout the States. Her house of business was No. 239, Arch Street, and was still standing in 1885. In *Harper's Magazine* for July, 1873, may be seen a narrative of George Washington's visit to her establishment in 1777, in company with George Ross of Maryland (who was her brother-in-law). Betsey Claypoole died in 1833, aged eighty-six years, and the flag-making business continued for some time to be carried on by her daughter Clarissa Claypoole; but this lady, as a member of the Society of Friends, becoming increasingly unwilling that her handiwork should be utilized for belligerent objects, eventually relinquished the occupation.

Returning to James Claypoole, with whom we began, an extract from a letter of his, written in England in 1682, preserved in the Philadelphia Historical Society, may here be recited. "My eldest son John," says he, "is going away this week in the *Amity*, R. Dymond, Pens., to be assistant-surgeon to William Penn. I have bought five thousand acres of land, and have fitted John out with all things necessary. His employment is very creditable, and if he is diligent and sober, may come in a few years' time to be very profitable. . . . I have a great drawing in my

own mind to remove thither with my family; so that I am given up, if the Lord clears my way, to be gone next Spring,—it may be, about a year hence."

Pursuant to this "drawing" towards a land of freedom, James Claypoole, in the following year, reached Philadelphia by the ship *Concord*, carrying with him his wife Helena, his four remaining sons—James, Nathaniel, George, and Joseph—and his three daughters—Mary, Helena, and Priscilla; besides five servants. From this stock numerous representatives have branched off in various directions, and their annals, we feel assured, can well afford to stand on their own merits. We now go on with the representatives of the Cromwell name.

In meeting a second misconception, it will hardly be necessary to warn the reader off from Negroland. Yet it may not pass unnoticed, that among the commercial announcements made by persons of this name in Philadelphian and other newspapers and directories, the advertisers not unfrequently turn out, upon inquiry, to belong to the coloured race. Nor must we blame the innocent ambition of men who, after emancipation from the condition in which they were known only as Tom or Nick, and finding themselves at liberty to adopt their own patronymics, sought to identify themselves with such houses as Raleigh, Trevelyan, Sydney, Russell, Talbot, or Cromwell; besides that in many cases they did but call themselves after their own masters. If this explanation suffice not, more domestic consanguinity will not be worth the tracking.

There were two principal Cromwellian groups in Maryland—those of Baltimore City and those of Cecil County. The former were the earliest on the scene by perhaps half a century, though other arrivals would naturally occur from time to time, claiming clanship with their predecessors, and intermarrying with them, other kindred families associated with them being those of Hammond, Bond, Rattenbury, Woolghist, Trahearne, Wilson, etc.

With the Cecil County group, who went over near the middle of the eighteenth century, descent from Oliver Protector is out of the question, since the pedigree of the Protectoral house at that period is thoroughly well known and definitely recorded. If existing anywhere, it must be sought among those of the previous century.

The first oral tradition to be noticed is that of Miss Katharine Cromwell, of Washington, living in 1885, and who, if still alive, must be ninety-four years of age. Her statement is to the effect "that among the individuals constituting an early colony of Cromwells, Hammonds, and Bonds, the eldest of the Bonds was named Peter, and that one of the Cromwells was a William, born in the old country in 1678, and dying in 1735, and that his wife's name was Mary." All very true, probably, and seemingly built on transmitted dates. We have to see how far it dovetails with other facts. Miss Cromwell is aunt to Mr. Thomas Cromwell, of 906, First Street, N. W. Washington.

A more positive narrative rests on the testimony of Mrs. Sidney Norris, residing at Olney, near Ilchester, in Howard County, Maryland (born Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Cromwell, of Baltimore, M.D.), a lady conspicuous for her intelligent interest in the ancestral story. Here we are first introduced to a barrister, named Richard Cromwell, practising in Huntingdonshire in England, whose three sons (keeping an eye on the Annapolis records), John, William, and Richard, were grown men in 1670. But what was the exact era of this Huntingdon barrister? His age would very well fit in with that of Richard, the son of Sir Philip Cromwell, born in 1617 (Noble's "Protectoral House," i. 357), but that Richard seems to have left a daughter only. This solution failing us, it must be admitted that there is no other printed record capable of supplying the want; and we must therefore suppose him to be one of the (then) numerous Crom-

wells whose memorial is still shrouded in a parish register. Neither may we identify him with Richard, son of Henry Cromwell, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, for that Richard, being born in 1665, could not have been the father of sons grown up in 1670, even if it could be shown that any of Henry's children ever went to America. It has, indeed, been suggested that Richard and William, sons of the Lord-Lieutenant, becoming, like the rest of their brothers and sisters, unfortunate, were dropped out of notice by the family biographers, and that the story of their obscure and early deaths might more truly have taken the form of emigration to America; but as there were already on the Transatlantic scene still older persons bearing their name, they really are not wanted to help us out of the difficulty, and we may therefore go on with Mrs. Norris's narrative.

Richard Cromwell, though he appears never to have set foot in America, acquired the grant of a large estate in Frederick County, subsequently known as Cromwell's Manor. He was also one of the largest, if not the very largest landowner in Baltimore, and the estates thus acquired, together with town-houses in Baltimore City, are still enjoyed by his descendants, who are persons of good fortune and standing. The family carried over with them from the old country a large stock of household plate, engraved with a Cromwell coat-of-arms. There is no trace of Richard's will in America. A search at Peterborough, in England, would probably bring it to light. The next in descent to be noticed is:

John Cromwell, styled "of Fairfield," one of the Baltimore estates. He married Elizabeth Todd, and had three sons, namely:

I. Richard, of whom presently.

II. Colonel Thomas Cromwell, of Bedford County, Pennsylvania, where, about 1785, in conjunction with partners, he established the first iron-works, west of

the Susquehanna. In 1787, a new county being formed out of a part of Bedford, Colonel Cromwell, being on the Commission, caused it to be named Huntingdon, and one of its townships is called Cromwell. Descendants of this gentlemen are believed to be still extant.

III. John Cromwell, M.D., died *s.p.*

Richard Cromwell, of Fairfield. A will bearing his name, preserved at Annapolis, August 17, 1717, mentions Elizabeth as the name of his wife, and Richard and John as his two sons, while Thomas Cromwell is the name of a cousin. By this will slaves are bequeathed, but no real estates are devised. One of the legacies is that of a negro girl to Margaret Rattenbury, and after her death to Hannah Rattenbury and her heirs for ever (!) The next in succession is:

John Cromwell, of Fairfield, who marries Hannah Rattenbury (Hannah was born in 1704), and is subsequently represented by another Richard of Baltimore, M.D., father (by Miss Hammond) of Mrs. Norris aforesaid. But it is evident that two or more generations have been lost sight of in this sketch, and as there were divers contemporary kinsmen, it may be as well to complete this section by recording the titles of the Cromwell charters, etc., preserved in the Land Office at Annapolis, not hitherto referred to:

1670. A warrant, granted 19th December, to George Yale for 600 acres. Three hundred of them, bearing the name of "Cromwell's Adventure," are at the same time assigned to John and William Cromwell, of Calvert County (liber xvi., folio. 151). Sixty-five years later "Cromwell's Adventure" is re-surveyed for William's two grandsons, William and John.

1680. Will of William Cromwell, signed by himself and his wife, Elizabeth Trahearn. Mention is made of two brothers, John and Richard; of two sons, William and

Thomas, though there were others. The lands willed are "Cromwell's Adventure," "Mascall's Hope," and "Hunting Quarter." Will proved 3rd March, 1684-85.

1723. Will of Thomas Cromwell. Two sons are mentioned, Thomas and Oliver. The lands devised are "Kensey," to his brother John Ashman; "Oliver's Chance," to John Cromwell; "Maiden's Chance" and "Oliver's Range," with "Cromwell's Chance," to the two sons. Proved in the same year; but the four exors., William Cromwell and John Ashman, two cousins, viz., John Cromwell and George Bailey, together with his eldest son, all immediately after resigned the office. No reason stated.

1731 or 1733. "South Canton," being a part of the Fairfield estate, granted to Robert Clarkson in 1680, is now assigned to Captain John Cromwell.

1733. Will of John Cromwell. Four children mentioned—Margaret, John, Hannah, and Anne. Lands willed are: Three tracts in 'Gunpowder Forest," called "Cromwell's Park," "Cromwell's Chance," and "Cromwell's Addition." The land formerly held by Thomas Cromwell in "Whetstone Neck" to be sold for his debts. His wife Hannah (Rattenbury) executrix. Proved 9th May, 1734. The widow re-married within the same year William Worthington, at St. Paul's.

1730. Will of William Cromwell. Four sons, William, Alexander, Joseph, and Woolghist. Lands willed: "The Deer Park" and "Cromwell's Enlargement." Witnesses: John Cromwell, Joshua Cromwell, and George Ashman. Proved 12th February, 1735.

1745. Will of John Rattenbury, in favour of his nephew, John Cromwell.

1813. "South Canton" and "Hay-Meadow," two portions of Fairfield, re-surveyed, and patented as one tract for Richard, son of John Cromwell (by Elizabeth Todd).

It now remains to take note of the Cromwells of Cecil

County, and of their offshoot in Kentucky. Here we have to begin with Thomas Cromwell, of Huntingdonshire, in the old country, who in the early part of the eighteenth century married a Welsh lady, named Venetia Woolgrish, or Woolghist, and himself died in England, leaving two surviving sons, John Hammond Cromwell and Vincent Cromwell, who, with their widowed mother, passed over to America in 1763 to join the Cromwells of Baltimore, with whom they claimed kinship, and apparently had full warranty for so doing. The elder son at that time was twenty years of age, and Vincent was eleven. The family at first located themselves at Port Tobacco, in the southern part of Maryland, but eventually secured an abiding-place on the ridge of an imposing plateau called Mount Pleasant, in Cecil County, in the north-east corner of the State; their own particular domain bearing the name of Cromwell's Mountain, subsequently corrupted into "Cromley's Mountain," for such is the name of the neighbouring railway-station on the Columbia and Port Deposit line. The quaint old family residence, which still dominates this tableland, stands in the midst of a farm of 300 acres, at a spot between the main road and the Susquehanna River, and about a mile and a half from Rowlandville Station on the Philadelphia and Baltimore Central Railway. It is constructed partly of stone, but principally of timber, sheathed with clap-boards and surmounted by a gambrel roof. Inside the house the walls of the rooms are scored all over in diamond pattern, and the floors are, from age and settlement, far from level. The founders of the house sheltered it with Lombardy poplars; but perhaps the most interesting feature of the place is a quadrangular enclosure not far from the house, surrounded by a box hedge six feet in height. This is the family cemetery, and here may be spelt out the brief memorials of many a Henry, a Venetia, an Oliver, or a Henrietta of the illustrious clan.

Here lived and died the elder of the two brothers aforesaid, John Hammond Cromwell. His wife's name was Mary Hammond Dorsay. His children were: I. Henrietta Maria, who married Reuben Reynolds, and became the mother of Dr. John Cromwell Reynolds, surgeon of the U.S. army, and others. By her second husband, John Briscoe, of Kent County, Maryland, there was also issue. II. Matilda, married to Mr. Harlan. III. Frances. IV. Delia, married to Richard H. Keene, of Kentucky, all of whom left descendants. His will, which was proved October 12, 1819, is registered at Elkton (lib. G. G., No. 7, folio 309). The old family house, which it seems he had named "Success," he leaves in succession to the Harlan family, and then to Dr. John Cromwell Reynolds aforesaid. It is still occupied by relatives; but, as he had no sons, the name of Cromwell has there died out. One of his surviving representatives is Mrs. Stacey, of Oswego, in New York State, wife of Colonel M. H. Stacey, of the U.S. army. Among other provisions of his will, Mr. Cromwell frees his slaves.

Now, in respect of Vincent, the younger brother of John Hammond Cromwell, he appears to have moved into the neighbouring State of Kentucky (where, in fact, both the brothers had acquired estates), settling near Lexington about 1793, where he died in the same year as his brother, 1819. By his wife, Rachel Wilson, he had eleven children, as follows:

I. John, born 1781, whose descendants live in Ohio.

II. Benjamin, born 1782. His children were: (1) John; (2) Oliver; (3) Alvin; (4) William; (5) Howard; (6) Vincent; (7) Marcus; (8) Caroline; (9) Nancy. Of this group, John was recently reported as living at the age of eighty. Oliver, the second son, must be the gentleman who, a few years back, while passing through Cape Town on a cosmopolitan tour,

attracted so much notice by his characteristic bearing and physiognomy, that a resident artist—Mr. Barnard—was happy to secure several photographs from him.

III. Joseph, of Lexington, in Missouri, where his descendants still flourish.

IV., V., VI. Joshua, Vincent, and Oliver; this last possibly identical with the Oliver Cromwell of Carolina who, in 1828, published a poem entitled "The Soldier's Wreath," in celebration of General Jackson's defence of New Orleans.

VII., VIII., IX., X., XI. Sarah, Rebecca, Hannah, Rachel, and Mary. One of these daughters was the mother of the present Hon. Cromwell Adair, of Kentucky. Hannah, the third mentioned, married Nathaniel Ford, whose daughter is the wife of H. Hammond Randolph. Mrs. Ford died in 1881, at the age of ninety-two.

During the War of Independence, two names conspicuous on the American side were Captain William Cromwell and Major Stephen Cromwell, both from the vicinity of Baltimore City. A third member of the family was John Cromwell—who entertained at his house near "Rye Pond," New York, Generals Washington and Lafayette—described as a descendant of John, cousin of the Protector, and son to Sir Oliver, of Hinchinbroke.

Sidney Cromwell, in 1776, at New York, published an essay entitled "Political Opinions."

Mrs. C. T. Cromwell, in 1849, was the author of "Over the Ocean; or, Glimpses of Travel in Many Lands"; New York.

A final notice may be taken of the name of Hammond, which, it will have been observed, is frequently found in connection with the American Cromwells, as it had also been in England. This ancient and knightly family, Mark Noble observes, were greatly divided in their religious and political opinions. The most notable historical figure

among them is, perhaps, Robert Hammond, the guardian of Charles I. in the Isle of Wight; but there is no reason to conclude that the Major-General John Hammond, who held office in Maryland under Queen Anne, was other than the descendant of a Royalist. An entry in the register of St. Anne's, Annapolis, states that he was buried by James Walton, the Rector of that parish, November 29, 1707, who describes him as "the Honourable John Hammond, Esq., Major-General of the Province of Maryland, Western Shore, and one of her Majesty's Most Honourable Council, and Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in the said province." The funeral took place, not at Annapolis, but on the Hammond estate, three miles from that city, where the inscription on his tombstone is still legible, and states that he died in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He married a daughter of Colonel Greenberry, and left descendants at Baltimore, who were subsequently joined by other English emigrants of the same name. One of the race still living—viz., William A. Hammond, M.D., Surgeon-General in the army—has a name of great and deserved eminence in the States.

For the gathering of the above facts I am entirely indebted to the industrious courtesy of P. S. P. Conner, Esq., of 126, South 18th Street, Philadelphia, who has long been on intimate terms with various members of the Cromwell house, and whose intelligent interest in historical matters eminently qualifies him for the task of sifting evidence. His principal informant was Mr. William H. Corner, connected by marriage with the Baltimore Cromwells. One of Mr. Corner's friends, Mr. William Henry Cromwell, of Philadelphia, deriving from the Cromwells of Road, near Frome, in Somerset county, England, bears an unmistakable resemblance to Oliver the Protector; and yet the Somerset Cromwells do not derive from Oliver direct, but rather from Sir Philip, his uncle. There can be little doubt that the early progenitors of this race must

have been distinguished by personal traits of a very pronounced character; and as it is a known fact that ancestral resemblances, both mental and physical, do occasionally crop up after protracted intervals, there is no reason why the *vera effigies* of his Highness should not reappear amongst us from time to time. Sir Walter Scott has made use of this physiological tendency in his romance of "Red Gauntlet." Some have thought that the Protector's countenance is traceable in the Addison family, of Soham, who descend from him through Henry, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

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